

LABOR UNITY

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The Trade Union Educational League

stands

FOR AGGRESSIVE UNIONISM AGAINST CLASS COLLABORATION
FORMATION OF A LABOR PARTY DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE UNIONS
ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED FOR AMALGAMATION OF CRAFT UNIONS
FOR WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY

The Trade Union Educational League, headquarters 2 West 15 St., New York City, wants to get in touch with all workers who stand for the policy outlined by the slogans above. Workers who wish to build a strong, united union movement in America, organized internationally also, workers who wish their unions to fight the wage cuts, and union smashing campaigns of the employers, workers who want their unions to represent themselves, and not just a few machine politicians who have taken over control of union organizations, should be in the Trade Union Educational League. Write for the League program, and the address of the nearest T. U. E. L. group so that you can meet with other militant workers and assist in the saving of the American labor movement.

LABOR UNITY

Official Organ of the Trade Union Educational League

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APRIL, 1928

WHOLE No. 22

Labor Unity is a magazine published by and for the workers. Its success in the fight for the workers and the principles of the Trade Union Educational League depends on the support it receives from the awakened, militant section of the workers in America.

All events of importance in the world of labor should be reported to it, by whoever knows of them. Labor Unity solicits articles from the rank and file, from the workers on the job or unemployed, about conditions in their industry, about special cases of attacks on laborers by the employers, about the rascality of a hold-out union bureaucracy. Names of contributors to this magazine will be protected if desired.

A Show-down in the Mining Industry

By WM. Z. FOSTER

(Since this article was written the Save-the-Union Committee has called, subject to approval by the April 1 Conference, a strike starting April 23 of the 100,000 unorganized miners in Fayette, Somerset, Westmoreland, Green and other Western Pennsylvania counties. The District 12 Save-the-Union Committee calls Illinois miners to strike April 1.)

THE coal industry, both bituminous and anthracite, finds itself in a deep-going crisis. The principal factors contributing to this are: over development during the war period, installation of machinery and speed-up systems, the introduction of oil, water-power and other substitutes for coal, the reduced demand for coal caused by the general industrial depression, etc. The crisis in the American coal industry is part of the international crisis in the coal industry.

The general result of the working of these factors is a falling off of demand for and a decline in total production, also a rise in production per man.

The principal harvest the workers reap from this situation is an unparalleled unemployment, the breaking of their union, wage cuts, etc. The slogan of the operators and the reactionary trade union leaders is "There are 250,000 miners too many." The crisis in the industry reflects itself by a deep-going crisis in the union. Gradually the organization is being crushed. During the past several years it has been wiped out entirely in West Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, and many other districts. It is now being attacked most desperately in the three key districts, in West Pennsylvania and Ohio. The crisis in the union is graphically indicated in the fact that four years ago 70% of all bituminous coal dug was produced by union coal



Ohio is one of the most militant districts. The workers have rejected a scheme to end the strike through fake co-operatives, and they know how to fight Lewis, too.

miners, but on April 1, 1927 at the beginning of the present strike, the amount of bituminous coal produced by union miners had been reduced to 30%.

The Lewis administration tries to throw the responsibility for the crisis in the union upon the difficult situation in the industry as a whole. Naturally the conditions in the industry have contributed to make the position of the union more difficult, but with proper policies the organization could have overcome these obstacles, and not only maintained but strengthened itself.

Criminal Misleadership

The Lewis administration has wantonly permitted the destruction of the union in various districts, and it has absolutely refused to carry on any organizational work to re-establish the union. It is saturated with corruption and inertia. It has systematically crushed every manifestation of militancy in the organization, expelling militant fighters wholesale. It has divided the coal miners against themselves, splitting off the anthracite miners from the bituminous miners, and in the present strike, signing separate district and individual agreements. This destroys solidarity among the miners.

Ever since Lewis came into power his general policy has been one fatal to the union. His betrayal of the 1922 strike, one of the most shameful features of which was his abandonment of the Fayette miners, is typical. The signing of a separate five-year agreement for the anthracite was a crime against the miners; likewise his failure to strike the bituminous miners jointly with the anthracite miners in 1925 and thus put a stop to the violation of the Jacksonville scale. He made no preparation for the present strike; carried on no preliminary organizational work; and made no stimulation of the union for the struggle; and when the strike took place he did nothing to draw the unorganized into the fight. For six months after the strike began no organized relief was given the miners; militancy was systematically suppressed; no mass picketing; no mass violation of

injunctions was engaged in. While the miners starved, he and his cronies drew their fat salaries. They directed the miners to place their hopes not in an aggressive fight but in futile appeals to Coolidge, empty Senate investigations etc.



JOHN BROPHY
Chairman Save-the-Union Committee

While Lewis was thus weakening the miners' union with his criminally wrong policies, the employers were constantly growing more powerful. The spread of non-union territory, the consolidations of the coal operators themselves, the general strength of other great industrial corporations with coal-mining departments, the increase in the open-shop militancy among employers generally, all contributed towards increasing the power of the employers, while the strength of the union diminished.

The general result has been to bring the United Mine Workers of America to the greatest crisis in its history. The organization is now in very real danger of being destroyed altogether.

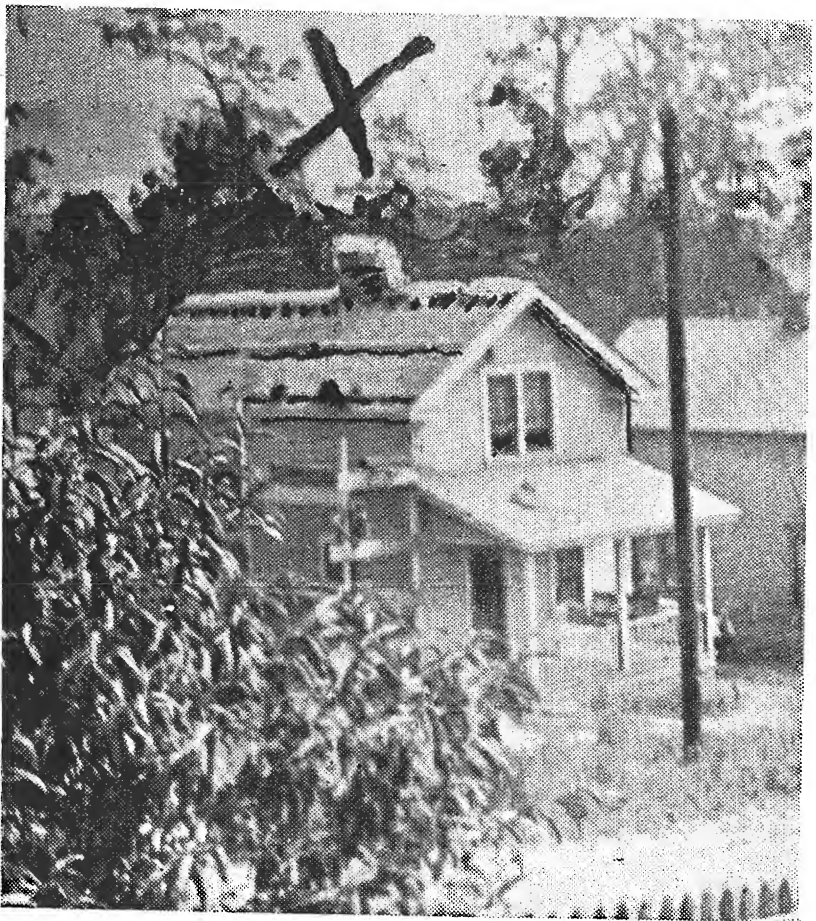
First Strategy Of The Opposition

Two years ago the left-wing, perceiving the increasingly dangerous position of the miners' organization, raised the slogan of "Save the Union". Forming a united front with the progressives on the basis of a minimum program including the Organization of the Unorganized, the Formation of a Labor Party, a National Agreement, 6 Hour Day and 5 Day Week for all Coal Miners, Nationalizing of the Mines, etc., the Left Wing embarked upon an intensive struggle against Lewis. This struggle first took the forms of an election campaign with the progressives putting up a ticket against the Lewis machine, a campaign for delegates to the national convention and for the organization of the unorganized miners in preparation for the approaching bituminous strike.

These movements brought forth afresh the corruption and ruthlessness of the Lewis administration. Lewis brazenly stole the election, packed the convention, and resisted every proposal for the launching of a campaign to organize the unorganized districts. This defeat

of the opposition resulted in a spread of pessimism and dual-union spirit among the miners. A conclusion quite generally reached, full of great importance for the future, was that it was hopeless to try to revive the U. M. W. A. through the democratic channels of the union.

The second general stage of the opposition strategy began about three months ago by the holding of an open conference of the opposition in Pittsburgh and the definite formation of the National Save-the-Union Committee, of which John Brophy is chairman and Pat Toohey is secretary. This is based upon an open struggle against the Lewis machine to force it out of control of the union and thus bring about, through the instrumentality of the left-wing and Progressives, the adoption of the policy necessary to save the organization. The typical opposition slogans of this period are: "Lewis Must Go" and "Min-



ers, Take Control of Your Union".

The present policy of open struggle is based upon four general considerations:

(A) *The union is in the most critical danger of being destroyed. Drastic measures must be adopted to save it.*

(B) *The Lewis machine, hopelessly reactionary, is wrecking the organization and there is no hope of its voluntarily adopting policies that will preserve the union.*

(C) *Only the policies advocated by the opposition can save the organization and relieve the pressure on the miners.*

(D) *Democracy being completely wiped out in the union by the Lewis autocracy, it is futile to try to function through elections and conventions corrupted and dominated by the Lewis machine. The only means left to put into effect*



Directly above, one of the reasons for unemployment: a coal loading machine. A strong union could cut the hours and raise the wage where these machines are used. Cowardly officials not only do not meet the machine problems, but advise "no picketing" while company thugs tear the roofs off miners' houses, as in the case of Andy Kniess house, above, to right.

the fundamentally necessary policies of the opposition is by an open clash and contest with the Lewis administration for the leadership of the miners.

The immediate general objective of the opposition in the struggle against the coal operators who are determined to smash the union and of whom the Lewis bureaucrats are the agents, is the mobilization of all possible forces to win the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike, it being manifest that if this great struggle is lost a tremendous obstacle will be placed in the way of unionism generally in the coal industry. This strike, the most important in the history of the American working class, can and must be won with correct policies. The miners involved are making the most desperate struggle in the face of unprecedented difficulties, and they can win the victory provided they are given real support.

Incredible though it may sound, the strike has been considerably strengthened in the past three months, due principally to the swift development of the opposition movement which gives the miners the first real ray of hope.

To win the strike the opposition is working on the following general strategy:

(A) *The strengthening of the strike itself through mass picketing, violation of injunctions; the extension of strike relief* and invigorating propaganda to stimulate the spirit of the strikers.*

(B) *Drawing of Illinois, Kansas, and Indiana into the strike on April 1st. These districts were signed up separately by the Lewis machine several months ago. The effect was simply to betray the Pennsylvania-Ohio strikers and to give the operators in these districts a chance to exploit the winter market. With temporary agreements expiring on the 1st. of April, these districts are confronting demands of the operators for the liquidation of the Jacksonville scale. The Lewis machine pulled these districts out of the strike; the left-wing proposes to pull them in again. The effect of their coming into the strike afresh will give tremendous impetus to it and do enormous injury to the prestige of the Lewis machine.*

(C) *Drawing in the unorganized miners. Fundamentally necessary to winning the strike in Pennsylvania and Ohio is to draw in the vast armies of unorganized miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Lewis makes no effort in this direction. The unorganized have no confidence in the Lewis machine; the "Save the*

Union Committee" has the confidence of these strikers and is now making strenuous efforts to mobilize them for the struggle. Thus, the very heart of the problem of the union, namely, the organization of the unorganized is being systematically attacked.

(D) *Drawing in the anthracite miners. Reversing the wrong policy of the Lewis machine in separating the anthracite from the bituminous miners, the Save-the-Union Committee is now working to join them up with the bituminous miners.*

The anthracite miners confronted with heavy unemployment, speed-up system, and betrayed by their officials, face the destruction of their organization unless they, too, join forces with the bituminous miners.

These four points in brief: (a) *Immediate strengthening of the Pittsburgh-Ohio strike;* (b) *Drawing in the signed up districts;* (c) *Drawing in the unorganized;* (d) *Drawing in anthracite miners constitute the main factor of the strike strategy of the opposition.*

To mobilize the full forces of the organized and unorganized miners to put this general strategy into effect, the National Save-the-Union Committee has called an open conference of miners, official representatives of their locals, to be held in Pittsburgh on April 1st., as LABOR UNITY comes from the press. This conference has been preceded by the holding of rank and file conferences in all the principal districts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, etc.

Especially marked is the upheaval amongst the bituminous miners. In the anthracite districts where there has been no strike and where the union crisis is not so evident to the miners, the upheaval is also developing, but the tempo at present is not quite so fast as in the bituminous sections. The mass district conferences, with the representative delegations of 150 to 300 each, were veritable outpourings of the rank and file in revolt against the Lewis machine. They were held openly notwithstanding threats from the misleaders of the union. They indicate, especially in the bituminous sections, a tremendous upheaval of the rank and file miners against the men who have, under the guise of Union Leaders, systematically betrayed them for years into the hands of the operators.

Everywhere district Save-the-Union Committees have been created. These have behind them a vast net work of Save-the-Union Committees in innumerable local unions. The organ of the movement is the COAL DIGGER with a rapid-

(Continued on Page 22)

* Active campaigns of relief should be initiated everywhere and money should be sent to Penn.-Ohio Miners Relief, 611 Penn. Ave., Room 307, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pan-Pacific Secretariat Meets

By EARL BROWDER

(Executive Secretary Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Editor Pan-Pacific Worker, former Editor "Labor Unity")

CONSIDERING the difficult period, and the special obstacles existing in China at the moment, it must be registered as an achievement in itself that a meeting of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat could be held February 3 to 6, in Shanghai. Furthermore, the meeting marked an extension of the scope of the P.P.T.U.S., as shown in the presence of the representatives of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions (500,000 members), and of the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas (81,000 members). In addition, representation of the Nippon Rodo Kuami Hyogikai and the Toitsu Domei (about 80,000 workers in Japan), the Far Eastern Section of the Russian Trade Unions, the T.U.E.L. of America and the Minority Movement of England, together with the heads of the All-China Labor Federation, made the Secretariat meeting the most representative trade union gathering ever held thus far in the East. It marked another step forward in the creation of an all-inclusive Pacific trade union movement.

Death Everywhere For Labor

Due to the white terror raging in China against the labor movement, it was difficult for the Chinese representatives to meet with the delegates from other countries. In the foreign concessions of Shanghai it is no safer than in the Chinese cities ruled by the counter-revolution, for the foreign police work in the closest co-operation with the militarists, arresting all active workers and turning them over to the native militarists for execution. Notwithstanding this menace to their lives, the Chinese trade unions sent to our sessions Sou Chao-Jen, chairman of the All-China Labor



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CANTON SHOP EMPLOYEES FEDERATION. Some killed by White Terror, others driven underground. Lan Kwok Hing, Fung San Lim, Leung Sai Kwong, Wong Pak Lum, Poon Wing Sum, Cheing Hok Nim, Lee Cho Yee, Wong Ching Poo, Wong Ping Yee, Lam Chuk Chung.

Federation, and Huang Pin, member of the Executive Council. Both of whom actively participated in all work.

Most important of all reports presented to the meeting was that of the Chinese delegates. Since the former meeting of the P.P.T.U.S. in Hankow, in May 1927, the Chinese trade unions have been faced with an entirely changed situation; where formerly they participated in the Nationalist Government (in which Sou Chao-jen was Minister of Labor), they are now executed and exterminated by this same government, and have been driven into an illegal, underground existence. Notwithstanding the loss of more than 70,000 members, executed and imprisoned during 1927 (details are given in the Manifesto of the P.P.T.U.S. summarised in the International Labor Notes Section—Editor Labor Unity) the Chinese labor movement has not ceased struggling for a moment. In the strike movements of Shanghai, Hankow, the North, Canton, culminating in the great effort in the latter city during December to finally overthrow their oppressors, the Chinese trade unions have demonstrated the greatest heroism, fighting ability, and endurance, which has earned the admiration of the entire world. The P.P.T.U.S., as its first act, adopted an Appeal to the workers of the world on behalf of the Chinese workers.

Two other reports were noteworthy, as bringing before the P.P.T.U.S. for the first time two important sections of our movement, namely, the report of the Australian and Filipino delegations. Jack Ryan, delegate of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions, made a report on the movement there, speaking directly on behalf of 500,000 organized workers. Hitherto the Australian movement has been rather isolated from the rest of the world; this Secretariat meeting was the first international gathering ever participated in by the Australian labor movement as a whole. The three Filipino delegates, from the Congreso Obrero de Filipinas, were also for the first time, bringing their movement into contact with the international labor movement. Although the Filipino trade unions have a history of 25 years, they are still undeveloped and uncentralized. The Congreso Obrero, the largest central body, is still comparatively quite small and weak, and a large part of its 81,000 affiliated members are only in mutualist associations. The Congreso Obrero showed in its report, however, that it fully realizes its great task of gathering together the Filipino working class for struggle, both for national independence and against the native exploiters.

1929 Conference In Australia

Latin-America and India still remain unrepresented in the P.P.T.U.S. Regarding the former, the meeting noted the projected formation of the Latin-American T.U. Secretariat, similar to the P.P.T.U.S., and which will include some of the countries which should also be members of our body. The P.P.T.U.S. welcomed the Latin American T. U. S. and pledged its co-operation to that body, which in its special field will have tasks similar to those of the P.P.T.U.S.

The meeting, carrying out the decision of the inaugural conference in Hankow last May, decided that a Pan-Pacific T. U. Congress must be called in 1929, deciding upon the month of March. On the motion of the Australian delegate, who reported to the meeting on this question, the Congress was called for Australia (Sydney or Melbourne as decided by the Australian T.U.S.) and items for the agenda of the Congress were invited from all affiliated organizations.

The principal resolution of the meeting was on the reports of the work of the Executive Bureau and reports from the countries. In

addition to formulating the main tasks of the present period, the resolution gave concrete guidance on the specific problems of Japan, the Philippine Islands, Australia and China. In working out these resolutions every delegation took active part, and the whole was adopted unanimously.

Due to the extra-ordinary difficulties of the past period, the work of the Secretariat had been confined almost entirely to the publication of the Pan-Pacific Worker, in which was furnished all the available information about the developments in the labor movement in the Pacific. This work must be strengthened and extended. Not the least important resolution adopted was on this point, outlining the practical tasks of the Secretariat during the coming months, and strengthening its organization for these duties.

What must be our judgment on the accomplishments of the P.P.T.U.S. to the present time? First of all, we must say that, compared to the truly gigantic tasks before us, only the smallest beginnings have been made. It would be the greatest mistake to overestimate our own accomplishments, which consist largely in laying the foundation stones for the future work. But neither can we belittle the importance of just such beginnings as we have made; nor the wide fields of accomplishments that open before us, provided we work correctly; nor the fact that, although slowly, we are making steady progress toward gathering our forces together. The foundation and growth of the P.P.T.U.S., with all its weaknesses, still represents the most important positive development in world trade unionism during 1927.

What are the most serious weaknesses within the Pacific trade unions, which the P.P.T.U.S. must combat and help its sections to overcome?

First of all is the organizational vagueness and instability, the lack of centralization and established leadership, in the colonial and semi-colonial lands especially. This weakness is intensified by the White Terror which rages in China, Indonesia, and Korea. Notwithstanding all difficulties, the trade unions in these lands must, with assistance of the P.P.T.U.S., build up a reliable organizational apparatus, fitted for its special tasks and capable of mobilizing and leading the entire working class of each individual country.

Secondly, there is the tendency to provincialism, a lack of understanding of and interest in

(Continued on Page 20)



HARRY POLLITT

The British Left Wing Movement Today

The Present Situation of the English National Minority Movement

By HARRY POLLITT

(General Secretary, National Minority Movement)

THE period of capitalistic decline, which is the marked characteristic of the present period, has brought changes of policy and tactics in the Trade Union Movement in England, which ten years ago would have been thought impossible.

The one-time happy-go-lucky toleration of all elements within the unions is giving place to some of the worst features of continental bureaucracy. It had been the boast of the trade union leadership in this country that acute differences of opinion could exist within the movement without engendering personal animosity between those who stood on the right and those who stood on the left; that within the broad structure and constitution of the unions there was scope for the full expression and propagation of what were known as "advanced opinions."

Before and during the war there existed in the important unions what were known as Vigilance Committees, Shop Stewards' Councils, Unofficial Reform Committees, Amalgamation Committees, etc. These, while being nominally attacked, were never subjected to the suppression and disruption that characterises the attack of the existing leadership on the National Minority Movement.

Old Leadership Fails

As the capitalist offensive has developed in intensity, forcing the leaders and unions into conflicts on a mass scale, the old leadership of the Trade Union Movement has shown more clearly than ever its inability to realize the implications of the new phase of class struggle in the post-war period.

As a result, since 1921 there has been a steady succession of defeats in struggles involving the fundamental questions of wages, hours, workshop conditions and trade union

rights and practices. This has led to dissatisfaction which expressed itself with the rise of the Minority Movement in a relentless exposure of the leadership responsible for such a situation.

When the British Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions was established in January, 1920, its first task, of course, was the popularisation of the principles for which the R. I. L. U. stood. It was not until 1924 that serious attempts were made to link up into one organization, the National Minority Movement, under the direction of a common leadership, all the left-wing and advanced elements that were in existence throughout the Trade Union Movement.

Right Wing Starts Oppression

The bureaucracy in 1924 did not see in the Minority Movement an organization that called for any great hostility on their part, and the late General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, Fred Bramley, benevolently declared in the *Daily Herald*, in reply to an article on the "Red Peril": — "I would urge those who represent advanced minority views inside the unions, to seek a remedy for their grievances through the proper use of trade union rules and opportunities." (June 26th, 1924).

At our first National Conference, when we brought together for the first time all the elements previously scattered throughout the multiplicity of unofficial committees outlined above, it was still possible to receive messages of good will from such reactionary leaders of to-day as George Hicks, Ben Turner and others.

However, as our groups became well-organized and the Minority Movement, developing its power and influence, began to express itself in a variety of ways, the official bureaucracy

began to reverse their tactics. At first they contented themselves with issuing instructions to their union branches forbidding the use of any union finance for affiliation purposes, in connection with the Minority Movement. This method failing, instructions were issued to the branches that no correspondence from the Minority Movement was to be read out and no delegates appointed to attend our conferences. The failure of these tactics is best seen by quoting the figures of delegates attending our conferences since 1924. In 1924, 270 delegates attended our Annual Conference; in 1925, 683 delegates; in 1926, 883 delegates; in 1927, 718 delegates. The latter figure in our opinion whilst showing a decrease, in view of the intensified hostility of the bureaucracy, represents our greatest achievement. It was the phenomenal success of this last conference which caused the General Council to attack the Minority Movement so vindictively at the Trade Union Congress in 1927 at Edinburgh.

Suspension

There is no further doubts as to the course the struggle is taking to-day. In the early part of 1927 the National Union of General & Municipal Workers suspended five members of the Minority Movement from official positions in this Union, because they attended a conference organized by us in connection with the formulation of a programme of special activity in this union. In addition, five other branches were suspended from participation in the administrative affairs of the union, and all finance withheld from them, as the Executive hoped that as a result of these branches being unable to pay any unemployment and sickness benefits, they would be forced to withdraw from all connection with the Minority Movement.

The Executive Committee of this Union went even further: they issued a document which all members of this union who are candidates for official positions must sign before they are allowed to go forward for election. The document is to the effect that the candidates are neither members of the Minority Movement nor the Community Party, and do not agree with the policy advocated by these organizations.

Our members, of course, were instructed to refuse to sign such a document, and to state openly their adherence to our principles.

This was followed by an attack from the General Council on all those trades councils

affiliated to us. The significance of this attack cannot be understood unless a few particulars are given regarding the General Council and its relation to the trades councils.

Eyes On Trades Councils

It was due to the pioneering work of the old British Bureau of the R. I. L. U. that working class attention was first focussed on the importance and potentialities of the local trades councils. Two national conferences were held under our auspices, with the object of showing how the local trades councils could become the general staff of the whole working class movement in the localities, and creating an agitation for the acceptance of their affiliation to the Trades Union Congress.

At the last three Trades Union Congresses the minority opposition has raised this issue, each time to be defeated, but the General Council in 1924 took steps to organize a National Conference of Trades Councils under their auspices—this step being taken as the result of our pressure. Since then they have regularly held an annual conference of trades councils and a Joint Consultative Committee of the General Council and local trades council representatives has been established.

One of the marked features of our Minority Movement conference has been the large attendance of trades councils, all the more important ones being represented; 22 of them actually affiliated to the Minority Movement.

The General Council on January 26, 1927, issued a document to all trades councils in the country intimating that no trades council would be allowed to participate in the coming annual conference of trades councils to be held in April 1927, if they were in any way identified with the Minority Movement. The three principal officers of all trades councils had to sign a document the decisive clause of which read as follows:—"We declare we are not affiliated to the Minority Movement."

The Yellow Dog Contract

In passing it is pertinent (in view of the document-signing process that is now the favourite manouever of the reformists) to draw attention to a document issued at an earlier date, by another organization. On July 8th, 1834, the Master Builders of London issued a document which all building trade workers had to sign before they could obtain employment. The chief point of the document was:—"We

declare we are not members of a trade union." One of the bitterest struggles in trade union history took place to get that infamous document withdrawn, and it is fitting comment that the existing leadership of our Movement to-day resort to exactly the same tactics as did the most brutal section of the capitalist class in the early days of British capitalism in their endeavours to smash the growing forces of British trade unionism.

The Minority Movement is confident that just as the capitalists were defeated then, so shall the existing leadership to-day be defeated.

The latest union to adopt a policy of disruption is the National Association of Printers and Assistants (NATSOPA) who in their rules have a clause which specifies that any member who has misappropriated finance or committed a breach of trust shall not be eligible to become an official of the union. This rule which originally aimed at keeping out financial defaulters and persons convicted of criminal offences, is now being made to apply to any person who is a member of the Minority Movement, and these are automatically disqualified from standing for any office in the union.

These are the signs which are the best tribute to the influence and strength of the Minority Movement. It was a member of the General Council, A. Conley, who at the Bournemouth Congress in 1926 in defending the General Council's policy against the Minority Movement said:—"If the General Council had agreed to this affiliation, within a short time the Minority Movement would become the majority." And at the Edinburgh Congress, J. Walker, National Organiser of the Iron & Steel Trades Confederation, said:—"The Minority Movement is a misnomer, because after all is said and done, supposing Mr. Pollitt and the other members of the Minority Movement are successful—and you people had better be careful not to allow them to be successful—be-

cause like Othello you will find your occupations gone if they become a majority."

Yes, despite our mistakes, we go from strength to strength; wherever trade unionists have the opportunity of registering their choice between the reformist leadership and the revolutionary leaders springing from our ranks, there is clear evidence of what the workers require. In the Fifeshire coalfield, after four ballots, the Communist and Minority Movement nominees were elected to two vacant posts as miners' agents, and to five seats on the Scottish Mineworkers' Executive. In Larnarkshire, nine Communist and Minority Movement nominees were elected to the Scottish Executive—out of a quota of eleven, and the Communist nominees for three official posts of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union were all elected—our candidate beating Bob Smillie. In each case it was a clear fight between the revolutionary workers and the reformists.

Reactionaries Will Split

What does the above situation indicate as the next line of attack from the bureaucracy, for every day there are increasing signs of an intensified hostility? I am confident that the reformists will endeavor to force a split in the British Trade Union Movement in those areas where our candidates have been successful for official positions.

We must note very carefully the new industrial peace campaign now being carried on by the General Council and the tremendous capitalist offensive that with the introduction of the Trade Union Act is about to take place. Already the textile workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire are in the thick of a fight on wage reductions and a lengthening of working hours. The German Iron & Steel fight on the question of lengthening of working hours will have repercussions on the metal industry in this country, and a new period of intensive class struggle is opening up before the British working class.

A new eight page pamphlet, "The Federal Anti-Strike Law", will be issued by the Trade Union Educational League as No. 21 of the Labor Herald Library series, and will contain the answer to the arguments of the American Bar Association and Matthew Woll for a revival of the Kansas Compulsory arbitration Law in a worse form and on a national scale. This pamphlet contains the devastating criticism of the new slave law which the national secretary of the T. U. E. L. was prepared to deliver at the American Bar Association's open hearings but was prevented from speaking as soon as the chairman of the Bar Association committee ascertained the nature of his address.

The pamphlet will sell: single copies, five cents; in bundles up to 100, three cents, 100 to 1,000 two cents, over 1,000 a cent and a half. Order from Trade Union Educational League, 2 West 15th Street, New York City.



The A. F. of L. Officialdom Sanctions Government By Injunction

By ROSE WORTIS

JUDGE ERLANGER has issued in New York a decision fining the leaders of the Joint Board Cloak & Dressmakers' Union the sum of seventeen thousand dollars or imprisonment for contempt of the injunction order, taken out by the Dress Contractors' Association at the instigation of the right wing officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The injunction included sworn affidavits against the officials of the Joint Board in which the bureaucrats of the International expose themselves in the role of the lowest type of stool-pigeons and government agents. The metropolitan press admits that it is the first time that such a decision has been rendered in a labor dispute. This also is the opinion of the manager of the Dress Contractors' Association, who stated that this decision will set a precedent that will in the future compel the enforcement of all injunctions against picketing. Evidently there was strong pressure brought to bear on Judge Erlanger to induce him to render this decision, which is even being criticised by the Law Journal of New York.

As for the cloak and dressmakers, this decision will have little bearing on their struggle as the policy of the present Joint Board, ever since the first day it came into power, has been to fight by all possible methods any attempt to curtail the workers' right to strike by injunctions.

This policy was put into effect during the strike in the cloak industry in 1926 when the employers' association was granted a sweeping injunction against the Union. Under the leadership of the left wing the cloakmakers defied the injunction by mass picketing, and instead of breaking the back-bone of the strike, as the

employers had hoped, the injunction only served to stimulate the ardor of the strikers. Thousands of them came on the picket line daily in defiance of police orders. Hundreds were arrested every day, sent to jail and replaced by others. In spite of the combined forces of the employers, the police and the courts, in spite of the support given by Governor Smith to the manufacturers, the cloakmakers succeeded in breaking the injunction and forcing the employers to conclude a settlement which secured for the workers many important gains (Unfortunately, these gains were later nullified as a result of the internal war forced on the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union by Mr. Sigman and his General Executive Board).

Bosses Back Sigman

Similar was the policy toward the injunction after Mr. Sigman had begun his campaign of compulsion and persecution. The leaders of the Joint Board had no illusions as to the forces that were backing the corrupt Sigman machine. They knew that the Sigman pogrom would have the support of the bosses, the police and the courts and that to take up the challenge of these powers of darkness would mean persecutions and imprisonment. They knew to what extent the bureaucracy would go in order to once more force their domination on the workers who had struggled for many years to overthrow the corrupt clique firmly entrenched in power. Judge Erlanger's decision did not come as a surprise to the leaders of the Joint Board and will not in any way retard the struggle. Should the decision be upheld by the higher courts, they will be ready to go to jail if necessary so as to champion the rights of the workers to organize and strike for the im-

provement of their conditions, and to bring to the forefront the struggle against injunctions.

A specific instance of the militant policy of the left wing in the fight against the injunction as compared to the wishy-washy tactics of the A. F. of L., is the stand taken by E. Taft, Manager of Local 41, at the hearing on the contempt of court proceedings brought against him by the employers' association in conjunction with the Sigman machine. Taft in a frank and fearless statement made clear his position toward injunctions, challenging the right of the courts to prevent workers from striking and organizing themselves. He openly stated that regardless of the consequences he would continue to defy this or any other injunction issued by the courts under one pretext or another. This courageous stand taken by Taft in open defiance of the injunction was a typical example of how injunctions can be fought most effectively. The judge, who had been accustomed to the cowardly tactics of the officialdom of the A. F. of L., was taken aback by the attitude of Taft and, fearing the publicity this case would receive in the event that Taft were sentenced to jail and the effect it would have in stimulating an open fight on the part of the workers against injunctions, absolved Taft from offense under some technical subterfuge, after the latter had stated his intention of pursuing the policy of defying injunctions in the future.

The Officialdom Of The A. F. of L.

Officially, at its conventions the Officialdom of the A. F. of L. has always expressed condemnation of the injunction. However, this defiance has in almost all instances been expressed in words and not in deeds.

The decision of the A. F. of L. convention for a special miners' conference in answer to a sweeping injunction in the central competitive coal fields aroused hope in many labor circles that finally the executive council had recognized the gravity of the situation and was seeking methods to fight the employers.

The result of the Pittsburgh conference was a blow to the rank and file of the workers and demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the officialdom of the A. F. of L. and its unwillingness to fight in the interest of the workers. In dealing with the injunction menace this august assembly of International chiefs dared not reiterate in print its traditional phraseology of fighting injunctions, but in an evasive and abstract manner it adopted a resolution "to keep

within the bounds of the law as guaranteed by the constitution."

This was the answer of the A. F. of L. chiefs to the hungry, struggling mine workers. This was the solution given to the I. R. T. workers, who are striving to free themselves from the clutches of Hedley & Co. This conference of union heads, which could have been the turning point of the great struggle of the mine workers, was reduced to a philanthropic assembly and ended with an appeal to the mercy of President Coolidge, the representative of Wall Street.

This cowardly, evasive and treacherous method of dealing with the injunction is in full harmony with the general policies of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. Its policy of surrender to the employers, its class collaboration policies, its new wage strategy, the fostering of the speed-up system, have given rise to widespread discontent among the workers.

The hitherto professed A. F. of L. opposition to injunctions has been completely abandoned. The failure of the A. F. of L. to take any concrete measure at the Pittsburgh conference against the injunction, its support of the Sigman administration which has now resulted in the conviction of the Joint Board leaders, in their attempt to secure an injunction against the grocery clerks, etc., has definitely placed the A. F. of L. on record as having sanctioned government-by-injunction, and marks the complete surrender of the A. F. of L. officialdom to the offensive of the open-shoppers of this country.

The workers of this country, the organized as well as the unorganized, are gradually beginning to realize that they must look for leadership and guidance in the direction of the progressive wing of the American labor movement. The workers are to-day faced with the alternative of accepting the leadership of the reactionaries whose policy is surrender to the bosses, or the leadership of the progressives who offer a policy of militant struggle to combat the attacks of the employers. The workers of this country are beginning to understand this difference in policy and whither it will lead the labor movement. By degrees the ranks of the progressives are becoming strengthened. Every new betrayal of the bureaucracy only adds new recruits to the militants, who to-day constitute the only constructive forces able to save the American labor movement from utter ruin.

Heads You Win, Tails I Lose

By HENRY GEORGE WEISS

AS I start to write this article, my eyes glance at the words printed on a blotter sent me as a joke by a friend in Oakland, California.

"Let's launch the New Year right," urges the blotter, "by thinking and talking and living prosperity — and we will have prosperity."

Splendid words! Who is there that doesn't want prosperity? No one. We can honestly say that for more years than one cares to recall the working men of America have been thinking, talking, but alas, never enjoying or living prosperity. Why?

Because on the average they have been content to accept the figures compiled for the delectation of presidents, railroad heads, bankers, and big business men generally, as applying to themselves as a class.

Individually they weren't well off, no; but all other Jim Henrys or John Jones who drove trucks, picked fruit, dug coal or clerked in stores, were. Hence arose an interesting phenomenon of a working class deeming itself well off on prosperity when millions of individual members of it weren't sure where the price for the next pair of shoes for the kids was going to come from.

The duality inherent in the word "prosperity", as used by the capitalist class, has never fully penetrated the head of the working man—nor, as to that, the mind of the average Babbit. For Big Business, 1927 was a prosperous year. Bank clearances showed it; dividends to those who owned industrial plums in the shape of gilt-edge stocks and bonds, proved it; special Christmas dispensations in the nature of "surprise extras" for the Palm Beach crowd, made it apparent to even the dumbest; but the very nature of this prosperity—the receiving of it by a single class—proved it the reverse for the common working man out of whose hide it was sweated. Hence we are driven to the logical conclusion that Cal Coolidge's 1927 prosperity was a coin with two sides: Heads you win, tails I lose. "You" being the capitalist class. Which brings me to a close-up of my article, as a camera man might say.

There lives in my neighborhood a bright youth who has just quit high school and is looking for a job. He is willing to do anything

within reason. But jobs within or without reason are as scarce as snowballs in Los Angeles in July. "Work's pretty hard to get in California," he informs me. "A fellow has to go east" to the promised land, but not having the face, he lives on the bounty of a grandfather, and learns to like it. Which is all right as long as the grandfather doesn't die and leave him nothing but an appetite and an indolent disposition. While he talks to me, other young fellows—and old ones too—are coming west to the promised land of California where you can get little more than a dollar and down a box for picking fruit. The pay is mostly "down", and picking fruit gets a little worse every year for the fruit picker, and for a very good reason.

Under the benign influence of Art Brisbane's Real Estate column, and lured, too, by the advertising carried on back east by various interests, needy clerks and others in search of a cheap holiday, crank up the old flivver, pack



PROSPERITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

in the wife and kids, and set out on a paying jaunt. Since these "tourists" feel they have to work or starve—and mostly they're right!—wages in the fruit fields take a tumble whenever they hit them. On the whole, this cheap labor is very respectable, dreads organization, and prides itself on its Americanism.

Conditions in the canning factories are little better than those in the orchards. The work also is seasonal. A few men get what are considered high wages, four to five dollars for an eight to ten hour day.

Such was the "prosperity"—three to four months' work, I believe—of workers in California fruit in 1927. Cal Coolidge, being generous—no, not the workers!—promises that it will be worse next year.

"But all labor," remarks a bright college youth, "is not casual, and not all jobs seasonal. Aren't there workers with steady employment?"

"Naught Abiding, But Change"

On the whole, no. There are workers with "changing" jobs. I am acquainted with scores of industrious men who toil three days here, loaf five there, get in a week at anything from mucking to wheeling cement, and thank their lucky stars if they stay a month on a job without being laid off. This is true of thousands of workers in Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other towns. Nor are the workers continually employed better off. Sherwin & Williams, Paint & Varnish Factory. (They cover the world!) pay an average of \$3.19 a day. Some husky men who roll six hundred pound drums and barrels around and load freight cars, get the top wage of four dollars for eight hours, but they are exceptions. Add to this the fact that such labor gets laid off during slack times, and you have a true picture of "steady" employment.

What is true of Sherwin Williams is true of Chevrolet Auto Plant, Durant, (the average in those two places is four dollars for a nine hour day), California Cotton Mills, (this is a terri-

ble joint), and others. They all have their slumps, their lay-offs; and in 1928 we can look ahead to the same (if not worse) wages, conditions, and the same lay-offs—or worse.

In California at the present time—in the opening months of the New Year—we have (not unemployment; that is always with us) but a little more unemployment than usual. The other day a fellow went into the Pasadena Free Employment Agency looking for work. He had a lean and shabby look. The upholstered lady at the window called him over. Yes, there was a job. Washing dishes. Twelve



"The trouble is, you workers don't WANT to work!"

dollars for a seven day week. Would he take it? Would he! Well, she gave him a paper and the youth went out. He was back in half an hour. "What's the matter, 'I asked, 'couldn't you connect?' Yes," replied the boy bitterly, "yes. But do you know what the S....of....B wanted? He wanted me to work ten hours the first day, eleven the second, and so on up to sixteen, after which I could repeat. Damn him, I'll steal first!" Another man took the job.

For two days—from eight o'clock 'till five—I have sat with other men in this Free Employment Agency without a job coming in. Some of the men sit and talk; others pace the floor nervously and mutter something about "just having to get work." The lady at the window is always polite. "No. No work today. Rather slack this week. Come in again." It is Dante's "Inferno" on a more refined and exquisite scale.

When I board the street car, I glance at the well-dressed and well fed business men who are



going home to exclusive Altadena from a hard day of brokering. They are prosperous; there is no doubt of that. Well appointed tables await their coming; wives charmingly garbed; cooks putting the finishing touches to the roast and mashing the potatoes in anticipation of their appetites. Four courses, at the least, will be served. Soup, meat and vegetable, salad, dessert. That is the other side of the picture; that is the prosperity Coolidge means. It is purchased at the price of unemployment, underpaid labor, casual work, the terrible exploitation of the mill and mine workers. I look at those men and they look at me. They go to their comfortable tables, and I slip the key in the door of my bedroom and kitchenette shack, fry some potatoes, eat bread without butter, drink hot water because it's cheap, and wonder how the hell I'm going to pay the rent.

Against "The Right To Be Lazy"

But to continue. There is a superintendent of an oil refinery in Southern California who once upon a time used to be a socialist and helped to organize the workers in the C. F. & I. steel mill in Pueblo, Colorado. Now, as I said, he's a superintendent and has grown sane and sensible. Listen to what he says:

"The workers don't want to work." (In spite of the fact that they do all the work that has to be done) "They come around looking for jobs and praying to God they won't get them. Sometimes I need a machinist. I step out myself and ask a man, Do you want to work? Yes, he wants to work. Are you a machinist? Yes, he's a machinist. All right, you're hired. Four dollars a day. Take this pick and start digging up that cement floor for pipe-laying. Well, I leave him working—when he does not refuse to start in the first place. When I come back at noon, generally, he's quit. That's the workers for you!"

From Machinist To Mucker

Now why the dickens this superintendent should step out and ask for a machinist, and then put him to ditch-digging at four dollars a day—even if only as a test—and not expect him to hesitate or quit, is beyond me. Yet this is considered damning evidence against workers in general—by a one-time socialist. Such reasoning among foremen and superintendents is not exceptional, it is the rule. The funny part of it, though, is that this particular superintendent I have reference to, still considers himself a member of the working class, and talks and argues as a horny-handed son of toil,

when as matter of fact he has gone over bag and baggage to the boss and lives like one.—He is fond of saying that the oil workers can get nothing by organizing, the implication being that they are well enough off now. But what are the conditions in his plant? The wage for common labor is four dollars. Overtime is depended on by the men to make decent wages. For instance, a foreman I happen to know makes around \$200 a month when he works three Sundays out of four.

Which oddly enough reminds me of a lady who was complaining the other day that she didn't know what she was going to do. Her daughters were home from college, and one of them was engaged to a big egg and butter man who had donated a library—or rather his uncle had—to the local Babbitry, and she had to entertain and be entertained (which latter was just as expensive, she bewailed) on a thousand a month. And what she was going to do to make ends meet.... Carry it on, ad infinitum, to suit yourself.

Milk And Chops—For The Dog

Oh, yes, before I forget to add the *coup de grace*!

The rented home of his family (furnished, two hundred a month) sits well up near the hills, and from the windows and spacious porches it is possible to overlook the city lying below, and at night to see the horizon blazing with thirty miles of light from a half dozen cities—Los Angeles, Pasadena, Whittier, Ball, Long Beach, etc. Rags, the pet dog of this menage, is quite an epicure. The starving miners' children of Colorado and Pennsylvania will be pleased to hear that he is very particular about his food, drinking a quart of milk a day, and eating nothing but the best of chops and a specially made dog biscuit. At night—evicted mothers please note—a white rug is spread on the parlor sofa for Rags to cuddle in.

Which, in my long-winded fashion, brings me again to the subject of prosperity. As defined by the owning class it means one thing for the bosses and another for the workers. Only when the working class realizes that the prosperity over which bankers gloat means low wages and unemployment for working men, only when it begins to pay less heed to the capitalist press the mis-leaders of labor, the Coolidge bunk, and begins to think, talk, and practice organization,—only then can it hope to achieve prosperity as a class. But in the day it does, it will put a crimp in the boss's prosperity too awful to contemplate—for the boss.

The New York Paper Box Strike

By A STRIKER

IN February, the paper box makers of N. Y. and Brooklyn went on strike. This means something.

Just a year previously, in the winter of 1926-1927, the box makers fought for 19 weeks against their bosses, five manufacturers associations who provided all the money needed, and plenty of cops. The bosses won. Conditions which were intolerable before that strike, became more so. Wages were slashed, in some instances in half, and hours lengthened. The workers who were being fired for any or no reason were told if they dared go near the union office they would be immediately discharged. Members active in the union and during the strike were blacklisted and to this day, some of them have been unable to get work. The bosses used their victory as a tool to try to beat the workers into submission and to hammer out more profits for themselves. They hit a little too hard.

The growing resentment of the workers against conditions in the paper box shops came to a head this year on February 28th. A general strike was called. The demands of the Paper Box Makers Union were:

1. Recognition of the union. Only members of the union to be employed.

2. That time and one half be paid for at the rate of 50% above the usual rate. That all work done on legal holidays be regarded as overtime.

3. The minimum scale of wages for workers be as follows:

Male		Female	
Drivers	\$32.00	Strippers	\$26.00
Chauffers	35.00	Labels & Finishers	27.00
Scorers	46.50	Turners In	18.00
Glue Table men			
Setters-up, Enders	37.50		
Finishers	36.00		
Tiers Up	29.00		

All workers receiving the minimum scale set forth herein to receive an increase of \$2.00 per week above said scale.

4. Piece workers, such as pasters, blockers and strippers receive an increase of 15% over and above the present prices.

5. That the working week be not more than 46 hours and that the union have a right to call for arbitration upon the shortening of the working hours, six months after the working agreement goes into effect.

The independent Paper Box Manufacturers Assn., who had ignored a communication from the union asking for a conference, were taken completely by surprise, with their members still financially crippled from the previous strike.

The drivers went out 100%. No boxes were delivered for 2 days. After that, cops were again used in an attempt to break the strike. Cops were placed on every wagon driven by the few scabs hired from outside agencies. The police not only were on the wagons but in many instances actually drove the horses, and loaded and unloaded the boxes. Two or three cops stood outside and inside each paper box shop, swinging their clubs. Plainclothes men raided the union

headquarters, at 640 Broadway, almost daily, searching and threatening the strikers. Wholesale arrests were made. Four strikers were taken from an automobile in which they were sitting outside a Brooklyn shop and charged with "disorderly conduct". Seven others were arrested while quietly eating in an Elizabeth Street restaurant and charged with "felonious assault". After one arrest, when asked the charge, the policeman told a union official "I ain't decided yet." Hired guerillas went through the paper box district attempting to intimidate the strikers. A campaign of terrorism was instituted to break the strike.

From the first day the strikers received services and financial assistance from the International Labor Defense, the Workers International Relief and the Youth Conference.

The strikers held firm. The bosses began calling the union office for settlements. On the first day of the strike, the largest manufacturer of round boxes, Wm. Herman, of 69 Wooster St., settled with the union. Others followed. until close to 300 workers went back to their shops under union conditions.

On March 12th, at the very moment when a committee from the Manufacturers Association was preparing to meet with representatives from the union, to reach an agreement, an act of treachery was committed. The drivers delegate, Joseph Paresi, with five of the drivers, Paul Deutsch, Joseph Rivers, Frank Mandracchio, Joseph Peluso, and James Rinaldi. behind the union's back, met with representatives of the bosses and for a 2-year "agreement" for drivers and chauffeurs only, which did not recognize the union, persuaded the drivers they were getting something and sent them back to work.

Where the union demanded a minimum of \$32 for drivers and \$35 for chauffeurs, the outlaw group accepted \$30. The \$2 increase and time and a half overtime demanded by the union, was ignored. All legal holidays but 4 were sold to the manufacturers. And the hours agreed to are worse than ever before the last strike. The drivers must work from 7.30 till 5, and 7.30 till 2 on Saturdays. And there is no guarantee from the bosses that even these miserable conditions will be enforced. The outlaw "union" is a real bosses union. This sell-out to the bosses by the trusted representatives of the drivers broke the morale of the strike.

There are only two seasons in the paper box trade, —from the end of August until Christmas, and from the middle of February until Easter. The trade is in a chaotic condition. Bosses, with a little capital, and with 2 or 3 relatives to help, open box shops, and underbid the established manufacturers. Prices are cut, and wage cuts, follow. The introduction of machinery also aggravates the situation for the workers. Many of the paper box shops are in cellars, with no windows.

The paper box workers are not sure of their jobs, they do not make a living wage, and their hours are intolerable. The union will go on organizing. There will be another strike.

HOW THE LEFT WING OF THE SHOE WORKERS

By WILLIAM J. RYAN

W AGE reductions must cease!"
 "No compromise!"
 "1927 prices or nothing!"

Five thousand striking shoe workers packed in the largest halls in the city of Haverhill clamored and shouted these answers to a compromise proposition of the shoe manufacturers and their allies, the bankers, politicians and business men of the city. Ten days before, January 18, 1928, they had poured out of the Haverhill shoe factories in protest against a wage reduction. They had taken this action at the call of a secret rank and file committee known as the Emergency Committee, in complete defiance of an arbitration agreement; and only a few nights previous they had paraded the streets of the city as a demonstration of their strength, solidarity and determination.

For ten days the public press had cajoled and threatened and denounced, business interests had used their influence, shoe manufacturers had threatened to leave the city; and every ounce of influence that could be used in a small city where there is only one industry was brought to bear on the striking shoe workers.

Now, with their general officials advising acceptance of the compromise proposition and after the most bitter and intensive propaganda campaign directed against them, they staged the most wildly enthusiastic meetings of all, and unanimously gave their answer:

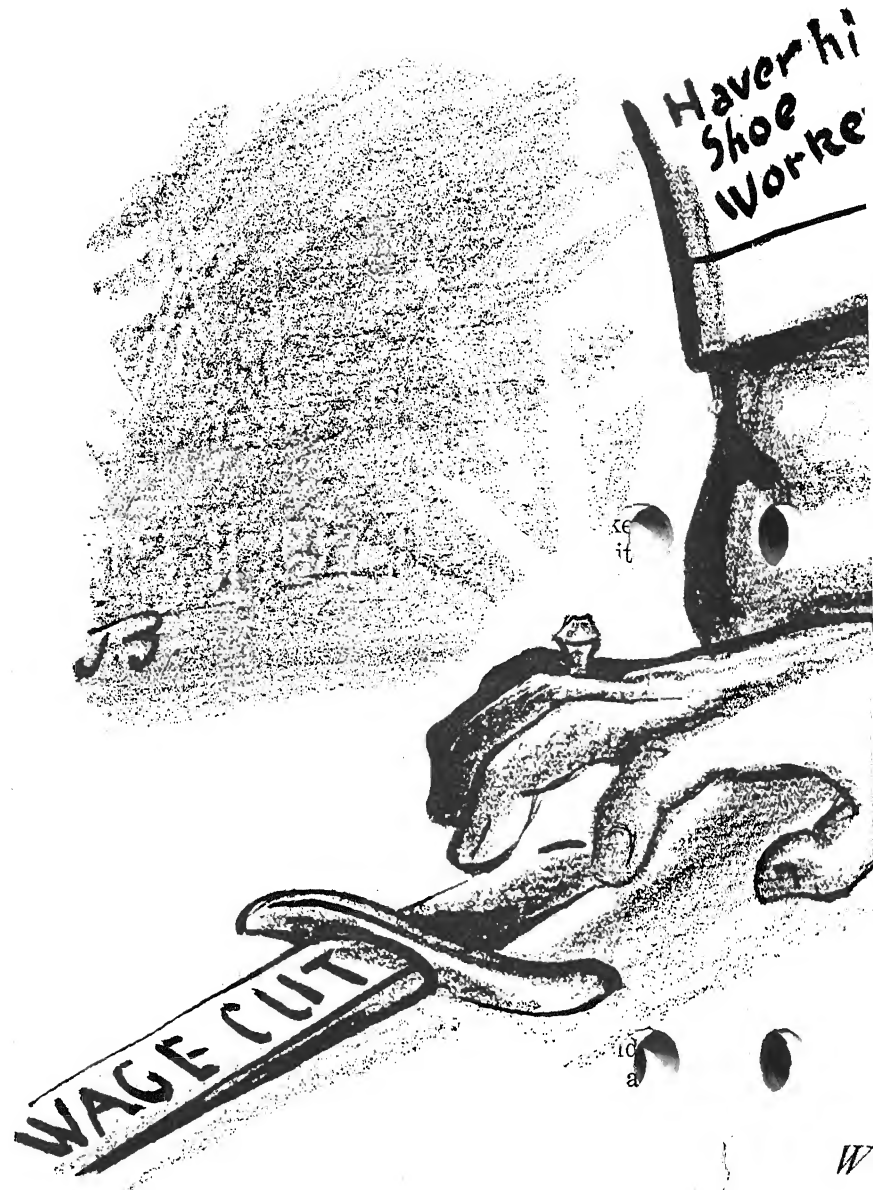
"1927 prices or nothing."

"Wage reductions must cease."

"No compromise!"

Up to January 1924 the Shoe Workers Protective Union had justly been acclaimed as one of the most militant and progressive labor unions in the country and certainly the most advanced organization in the shoe industry. In the matter of hours and wages it set the pace for the shoe workers of the country and in shop conditions it stood alone. Indeed it was its insistence on shop control and its work in developing the shop committee system that particularly marked the Protective as a progressive and militant group.

In addition to its work in its own particular sphere it actively interested itself in the general problems of the labor movement. It was one of the earliest in advocating the amalga-



IN BOSTON, on March 4, was held one of the most important conferences in years. Following on the successful left wing strike in Haverhill, where a cut victory was won, sixty delegates representing the Boot and Shoe Union, and the unorganized, met and canvassed the whole field, decided against the bosses and for organization of the unorganized.

A National Committee has been elected. It will meet monthly, Clubs which have been springing up among the organized and unorganized are supported. Plans are being made to organize left wing sentiment against the bosses. A company union out of the Boot and Shoe; the left wing in the Haverhill national leadership, will be supported and the whole struggle co-ordinated.

The national committee is issuing a detailed program of struggle which

WORKERS WON A STRIKE AT HAVERHILL



LEFT WING SHOE WORKERS CONFERENCE

important conferences for the shoe workers in recent years in Haverhill, where, in spite of official treachery a clear majority of the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Protective Shoe Workers and the sole field, decided on a militant campaign for united front action.

will meet monthly, and will publish a bulletin. The Workers are organized and ungoverned especially in Lynn will be a strong sentiment against the officials who have practically destroyed the left wing in the Protective, which opposes the reactionary leadership struggle co-ordinated by the national committee. The line of struggle which will be printed in Labor Unity.

mation movement and consistently supported this program. The Protective would not agree to bind itself to a policy of arbitration, and one of the articles in the proposed constitution stated that "the policy of this organization may be a policy of arbitration and conciliation." The article originally read "shall," but was changed to "may" when it became evident that something must be done to placate the Protective. It was a distinction without a difference. The Protective understood that conditions might force them to adopt an arbitration agreement, but they refused to accept arbitration as a policy of their organization.

There were other points of difference also, but whatever the emphasis placed on these various points the arbitration article was the real point on which the movement differed.

The Protective supported the workers everywhere to the limit of its ability. Thousands of dollars were donated to Rochester and Brockton shoe workers. Truck loads of food and thousands of dollars in money were given to the Lawrence textile workers and a loan was thrown into that city at the critical time of the 1922 strike. The organization published a paper that found plenty of room for revolutionary propaganda, organized a Chamber of Labor in the city, and gave its support to organizing workers outside of its own trade. In short, the Shoe Workers Protective Union by deed and propaganda showed clearly that it recognized the class struggle and with all the drawbacks, incidental to a New England psychology, it performed its work well.

Naturally the organization was hated by the manufacturers and business elements of the city. One section of the local press kept up a steady attack week in and week out concentrating its attention on the "Reds" and appealing to the conservative element in the organization to throw off the yoke of the "tyrants."

In December 1922 the union administered a particularly humiliating defeat to the shoe manufacturers. Smarting under this and taking advantage of the beginning of the industrial depression in the shoe industry they maneuvered what was equivalent to a five month lock-out in the latter part of 1923. The factories remained open, there was no direct war, but there was no work, and thousands of workers were walking the streets. They had jobs, thanks to the union shop control—but no work.

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LEFT WING SHOE WORKERS CONFERENCE

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A National Committee has been elected. It will meet monthly, and will publish a bulletin. The Workers Clubs which have been springing up among the organized and unorganized especially in Lynn will be supported. Plans are being made to organize left wing sentiment against the officials who have practically made a company union out of the Boot and Shoe; the left wing in the Protective, which opposes the reactionary national leadership, will be supported and the whole struggle co-ordinated by the national committee.

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The propaganda campaign was intensified; the Protective was conducting a strike in five factories involving about two thousand workers; and the manufacturers were solidly organized. In addition to this in the rest of the country the shoe industry had collapsed. The organization in Rochester, N. Y. had been destroyed, and Lynn, Mass. had granted extension in hours and reductions in wages. Haverhill was isolated.

Left Wing Plans To Carry On

The Protective barely avoided a most disastrous defeat. The organization signed a "Peace Pact"—the manufacturers gave it that name—surrendering some of the things they had won but still holding itself well in advance of the rest of the country in the desperate hope that they would receive support.

They were doomed to disappointment. Beginning with January 1924 the Haverhill shoe workers lost steadily.

The deflation period could not be successfully met by an isolated center, and in the shoe industry particularly the depression was severe. Add to this the fact that the "Reds" had met with defeat inside the organization and the union was controlled by extreme conservative and reactionary groups.

The class conscious groups concentrated on the two chief problems, namely, to preserve the organization and to carry on quiet but persistent propaganda in preparation for the future.

Under the terms of the "Peace Pact" a general wage hearing was held every year, and the impartial chairman was called upon to decide the entire wage scale for the city.

The arbitration board consists of a union representative, a manufacturers' representative and an impartial chairman. The impartial chairman is under salary, paid by each of the parties, and he decides questions on which the workers and employers cannot agree. The agreement says his decision is final and binding. The present arbitrator is a former business agent of the Protective. He was not supported by the union.

The union employed the Labor Bureau, Inc. of New York to present its case for an increase in wages, as it has for the past few years. The Bureau did a complete and splendid piece of work. The manufacturers prepared their own brief—a blunt statement that they wanted a cut.

The Impartial chairman—the union calls him

"Impossible Chairman"—handed down a decision giving general wage reductions on piece prices and establishing a sliding scale on week wages.

The militant element in the organization sprang to immediate action. General economic conditions seemed to indicate that the hour was ripe for a successful battle. Local conditions indicated the same course. The Manufacturers Association was weak, and shoe business was promising. But the determining reason was organization policy. The time had come when organized labor in the shoe industry was confronted with the alternative of "dying on its feet" or fighting. If it fought a good fight and lost—it didn't lose. However severe the apparent defeat at least the militant and progressive elements would retain their respect for the organization and they would form a nucleus for future reorganization. If the union accepted the decision all hope and courage would be quenched and the organization would melt into nothingness. Add to this the theory that was in the minds of a few that organized labor must openly resist the general offensive of the bosses that has been carried on for the past few years. Some effort must be made, however small, to awaken the fighting spirit of the workers. And finally if the Protective was to grow, if the shoe workers were to be organized, then the Protective must be able to show that it is ready and willing to fight.

Rank And File Take Charge

The local unions most affected by the cut formed Emergency Committees giving to these committees full power. The committees were of the rank and file and by "full power" the workers meant just what the term implies. Officials, boards, and all machinery of the locals were subordinate and under the control of the Emergency Committee.

The Emergency Committee, representing the locals which had been cut, outlined for themselves four immediate tasks.

1. To get all the shoe workers in the city into the movement.

2. To keep the General Officials from interfering.

3. To organize public opinion if possible. This is important in a small city, and especially so in a city depending upon one industry.

4. To delay the strike if possible until such time as a walk-out would most seriously affect the manufacturers.

In the meantime a special sub-committee was

assigned to the one task of working out plans to enable the shoe workers to carry on the battle for months if it should be necessary.

The Emergency Committee succeeded in accomplishing its four immediate tasks.

The first, of lining up all the shoe workers, proved comparatively easy. Direct appeals to the local unions that had not been cut brought immediate response, and the day workers, even though they had not been directly affected, realized the danger of the proposed sliding scale and rallied to the general program. The plot to divide the workers was defeated. A small group among the turn-workmen or turn lasters held that local for awhile even to the extent of publicly denouncing us but our committee succeeded in reaching the mass of that local and the reactionaries were publicly repudiated.

The second task, that of preventing the general office from interfering proved more difficult. It was accomplished, however, and in plain justice to the general president it must be noted that *he did nothing to break the spirit of revolt. Only when the compromise proposition was opened did he definitely urge the workers to surrender.*

Anxious To Struggle

The third task, that of organizing public opinion was at least partially accomplished, despite the hostility and bitterness of the press. The very determination and earnestness of the workers, the fact that they had consistently accepted wage reductions without complaint, the unwarranted amount of the reduction, and their willingness to submit their grievances to public judgment, all had effect. The Citizens Committee, the Arbitration Board, the shoe manufacturers were besieged with petitions from the workers to reopen the case. Finally the banks in the city began to feel the effect of the workers' spirit. The workers had withdrawn thousands and thousands of dollars from the banks in order to protect their savings from possible legal action in the event of a strike.

The fourth task, that of delaying the actual walkout was at one and the same time the easiest and most difficult. It was the easiest because the work necessary to accomplish the first three required time and so helped the general plan. It was the most difficult because of the impetuosity of some of the groups which reflected itself even in the Emergency Committee. It was vital, however that the blow be struck at a time when its effects would be most seriously and quickly felt by the bosses,



and by dint of hard work and considerable diplomacy the desired result was attained.

A few days before the strike was called general mass meetings were held in various halls. These meetings adjourned simultaneously and thousands of workers thronged the streets marching from one hall to another where they heard various speakers.

Wednesday, January 18, was set as the deadline by the Emergency Committee, and that night, learning of the refusal of the manufacturers to confer with them, the Shoe Workers Protective Union in crowded mass meetings called a strike in every shoe shop in the city of Haverhill. At these meetings they definitely decided on the policy "No Compromise"—"1927 Prices or Nothing."

Thursday, the 19th, not a wheel turned in any Haverhill shoe factory.

From that date until January 30, the date of the surrender of the Haverhill Shoe Manufacturers Association, things moved with bewildering rapidity. To the casual observer the union headquarters presented a scene of chaos, workers thronging the building day and night attending their strike meetings, and with local officials aimlessly wandering about, neglected, forgotten, and ignorant of what was really happening. The strange term "Emergency Committee" was on every tongue, but where the Emergency Committee was, who it was, and what it was doing nobody knew with any certainty.

But there was a very definite thread of order running through the apparent chaos. The meetings were organized without the officials, or with the aid of the few officials who had courage enough to help. Factories were signed up, and the general feeling of hope and courage and determination was kept alive.

Then came the break.

The manufacturers and the Citizens Committee met with the general president, the attorney, and the president of the district council. They would pay 92% of the 1927 prices "on account," the entire wage case would be reopened and heard by a new arbiter.

The general president and the attorney went before mass meetings and advocated the acceptance of the proposition. It was with difficulty that the workers were persuaded to even listen to the plans. Out of five thousand workers two voted to accept it. The shoe workers of Haverhill returned their answer to the bosses—

"No compromise!"

"1927 prices or nothing."

"Wage reductions must cease."

On Monday, January 30, the Haverhill Shoe Manufacturers Association capitulated and granted in full all the demands of the Haverhill workers.

This strike is something more than a mere local disturbance, and its effects will not be confined to Haverhill or even to the shoe industry. It marks the awakening of the work-

ers fighting spirit after several years of general passivity. The general offensive of the bosses against labor which has been pressed so ruthlessly during late years may not be definitely halted or even retarded by this one demonstration in a comparatively unimportant industry, but the very fact that a large number of workers in the face of a "sacred" agreement, public opinion, and internal opposition, definitely and militantly asserted themselves is to say the least a hopeful and encouraging sign.

The effects are already being felt in the shoe industry. The Protective is pressing an organizing campaign which if properly handled, should meet with considerable success.

There has been a general awakening, a return of that keenness, alertness and interest that has been so markedly absent in recent years. This newly roused spirit must be fostered and directed. This is the work of the progressives in the shoe industry, and upon their ability to meet this task successfully rests the immediate future of organization among shoe workers.

Pan-Pacific Secretariat Meets

(Continued from Page Six)

the labor movement of other countries, and to judge all questions from the strictly limited outlook of "our own" country. It must be frankly recognized that this weakness is seen more in the industrially-developed countries (Australia, Japan, America) than in the colonial lands, where imperialist pressure has forced the masses to take an interest in the whole world. Especially is this provincialism demonstrated by the complacent acceptance by large sections of the workers of the discriminatory legislation enacted by capitalist governments against the Asiatic masses, with the design of breeding racial antagonisms and preventing labor solidarity being masked by the hypocritical plea of "protection from the competition of cheap labor." The breaking down of the narrow provincialism, resultant upon lack of international strike-breaking and that of racial prejudice and division which breeds the former. The full realization of international solidarity of labor will be a process of development, but we can make steps in that direction at once.

The largest problems of the Pacific trade

union movement remain the same, namely, the struggle against war, and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples. These two struggles which are at the same time much broader than the trade union movement, are nevertheless of basic importance to the growth and development, of trade unionism.

It is the fundamental achievement of the P.P.T.U.S. that it has laid down the correct lines on these fundamental questions, and already begun to proceed therefrom to the practical tasks of international review, criticism and guidance in the concrete application in life in the various countries. Without exaggerating our achievements, recognizing all our shortcomings and the large tasks still to be attacked (for example, India is still unconnected with the P.P.T.U.S.), we can now press forward in our work after the February meeting of the Secretariat, confirmed in our belief in the progress of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union movement as an integral part of the movement for world unity of labor.

Wars: "Good Will" Brand

By SCOTT NEARING

CALVIN Coolidge, President of the United States, and Charles Evans Hughes, Chairman of the American Conference at Havana, both had something to say about the "good-will" which the United States felt toward its Latin-American neighbors. What does "good-will" mean applied by United States officials to weak Latin-American neighbors?

As early as 1917 United States school histories began to appear with Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Panama listed as "protectorates" of the United States. In legal theory each was still a sovereign state. Each had a constitution and a government. Each might join the League of Nations. In practice, however, all five of these countries had imported capital from the United States, and all five of them had signed treaties which placed the control of customs, of expenditures, or of local policing under the political domination of Washington.

These results were brought about by wars, subsidized revolution and other forms of Yankee "good-will."

Between the Mexican war of 1846 and the Spanish war of 1898, the United States ruling class let its neighbors alone. During the 30 years which followed, however (1898-1928) the United States interests have made war on one after another of the small southern neighbors, —Mexico, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua. No one of these wars has been declared, but in each instance, the United States has used methods (gun-boats, marines, bombardments) which would be considered an abundant cause of war had they been directed against France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other nation with an army and a navy and machinery for making war equipment.

Where wars were not practicable, United States interests have organized or financed or



SCOTT NEARING

backed revolutions. This has been notably true in the case of Nicaragua, in which the United States bankers held Nicaraguan bonds. The United States Navy wanted a canal across Nicaraguan territory.

In 1909 a revolution broke out against President Zelaya of Nicaragua. The revolution was financed by Adolfo Diaz, an employe of an American mining corporation, who advanced \$600,000 to aid the revolution. Diaz's salary was \$1000 a year. The United States government supported the revolutionists and compelled the Nicaraguan government to allow American ships carrying arms and ammunitions for the rebels to pass its blockade. When the Nicaraguan government troops surrounded the rebels and attempted to destroy them in

Bluefields the United States marines were landed and the rebels were protected.

During 1910 the rebel leaders signed an agreement to give the United States control of Nicaraguan customs. At the same time they arranged to make a loan from a New York banking syndicate. After these financial details had been agreed upon an election was held by the Assembly and Diaz was made Vice-President. The people of Nicaragua, however, remained opposed to the Diaz regime and to the loans which it had negotiated under United States supervision.

In 1911, a United States war vessel was sent to Nicaragua for "moral effect." The United States minister asked that this war vessel remain "at least until the loan has been put through."

Resentment against United States interference grew in Nicaragua. The Assembly repudiated the customs control and refused to sanction the loans. So unpopular was Diaz that the whole country rose against him in July, 1912. This time, the United States interests opposed the revolution. Eight United

States war vessels and 2,725 sailors and marines participated in the war against the revolutionists. Managua was bombarded and the United States forces took part in several land engagements. The leader of the revolution finally surrendered and was exiled to Panama on board a U. S. war vessel.

The expense of suppressing the revolution led the Diaz government to make another New York loan, pledging Nicaraguan railroad and bank property as collateral.

Loans and canal rights were both arranged for in 1913. A small guard of U. S. marines remained in Nicaragua until 1925 and during twelve years of Yankee good-will the country enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Despite the presence of the marines another over-turn took place, however. The conservatives were voted out of power and a government assumed office which was hostile to U. S. interests. Thereupon Adolfo Diaz, who had been officially assisted by the United States in his 1909 revolution and officially aided by the United States in suppressing the 1912 revolution, helped to organize a coup d'etat as a result of which he became President in October, 1926. The liberals, meantime, had begun a revolution in support of the duly elected Nicaraguan officials. Diaz was promptly recognized by the United States; was supplied with marines and

airplanes; was backed by United States battle-ships, and by a U. S. admiral, who took military possession of the liberal capital and ordered the liberal army to surrender its arms or get out. During 1927 several battles were fought by United States marines against the opponents of Diaz. In the course of these engagements a number of United States marines and several hundred Nicaraguans were killed.

The Nicaraguan war of 1926-1927 has been waged by the United States in the interests of President Diaz and against a group of Nicaraguan patriots who are insisting on the right of Nicaragua to handle its own affairs in its own way.

Diaz is a foster-child of Yankee "good-will." When he organizes revolutions, Uncle Sam backs him. When he is elected to office, he receives Yankee support. When he ousts duly elected officials, he is similarly favored.

What is this "good-will" of which President Coolidge talked so suavely and of which Mr. Hughes spoke so passionately at Havana? It is the steady, implacable march of Yankee imperialism across the weak neighboring countries of Latin America. It is "moral suasion" at the muzzle of a 16 inch gun. Yankee good will is the half brother of Yankee good investments; Wall Street is the father of both.

A Show-down In The Mining Industry

(Continued from Page Four)

ly growing mass circulation. It is this whole machine mechanism which will send forth a large delegation to the Pittsburgh Conference.

The effect of this great mass movement has been to stimulate the fighting spirit of the miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio. A weakness of the progressives was that almost unanimously for several months they held the position that it was wrong to criticize the Lewis machine during the strike. The result of this was to give Lewis a free hand to destroy the strike.

The left-wing however, firmly maintained that especially during the strike Lewis and his policies had to be attacked. Now progressives and all are agreed that the mass attack on Lewis has vastly strengthened the strike and gained it its first real prospect of success. Should the strike be successful Lewis will, of course, try to claim the credit. But the opposition must know how to instruct the rank and file in the real truth.

The development of this great mass movement of opposition against Lewis and the operators is being watched with alarm by the government, the coal operators, and the Lewis machine. Lewis's henchmen are co-operating openly with the State police and other arms of the government, to suppress free speech and free assembly by the opposition forces. They are embarking jointly on a campaign of terrorism against the rank and file. Already at the present writing, five men have lost their lives in the struggle: three of the opposition and two of the administration force, while innumerable others have been slugged and arrested.

The evident determination of the Lewis machine is to hang on at all cost in the face of the opposition of the majority of the union, securing the support of the operators and the government in order to retain control of the union. Accustomed to stealing elections, packing conventions, using the black list against militant



PAT TOOHEY
Secretary Save-the-Union
Committee

workers, and generally acting as agents of the employers, they will unhesitatingly split the union if they can and try to force some sort of semi-company unionism on the workers. But they will meet with a militant resistance on the part of the bulk of the miners who are determined to be done once and for all, with this clique of crooks and fakers. It is a head-on clash between the rank and file and the men who have betrayed them. The immediate policy of the Lewis machine is to try, especially through the Senate Investigation Committee, to trade on this revolt on the basis of a Red scare to secure some sort of a temporary settlement which will enable them to tide over the present difficult situation and to claim the credit for having won the strike. The opposition, of course, militantly resists such a sell-out and insists upon a national settlement for all the soft coal miners. The coal operators are more determined now than ever to smash the union. It is possible, however, that under the great pressure of the developing mass movement they may, in spite of Coolidge's refusal to turn a hand over to make a settlement, rig up some sort of a fake temporary agreement, designed to hamstring the present rank and file movement and to give the coal operators an opportunity to smash the union at their leisure.

The Importance Of The Struggle

The importance of the struggle now going on in the coal industry can hardly be overestimated. The coal operators are aggressively attempting with the active assistance of the government and the treacherous misleadership of the Lewis machine, to break up the United Mine Workers and to put through their wage-cutting policies. The loss of the U. M. W. A. would deal a most destructive blow to the trade union

POLITICAL PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Birthdays in April of political and classwar prisoners in American penitentiaries are announced as follows:

At Walla Walla, Wash.: April 27, Bert Bland, Box 520-9411.

At Lansing, Kan.: April 25, Joe Niel, Box 2.

No packages are permitted but cards and letters are appreciated.

HELP THIS CONFERENCE

The National Committee of the T. U. E. L. urges immediate compliance with the following appeal by the Save-the-Union Committee:

The traveling and other expenses of the delegates to the Pittsburgh Save-the-Union conference must be defrayed. Locals may elect delegates but unless they have money, the delegates must stay home.

Everybody is urged to take steps immediately to raise funds to meet the expenses of the delegates to this conference. Here is what you should do:

In districts like New York and Boston where there are no coal mines, working class organizations should organize coupon-selling drives at once. These coupons are for one dollar, fifty cents and twenty five cents each. They read: "The purchaser of this ticket has helped pay railroad fare for Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia striking miners and the miners from other mining districts to the big National Save the Union Conference in Pittsburgh, Pa., April 1st, 1928."

Those who can afford should buy a sheet which costs \$10.50 and forward the money immediately to the Save-the-Union Committee.

Send donations at once to the office of the Save-the-Union Committee, 526 Federal St. N. S. Room 201, Pittsburgh, Pa.

movement as a whole, and give an enormous impulse to the open-shop movement in every industry. The saving, rebuilding of the United Mine Workers and the driving out of its corrupt leadership is of fundamental importance to the whole labor movement.

The situation turns around the struggle between the Lewis machine and the opposition. The defeat of the Lewis machine by the opposition would have far-reaching consequences not only in the miners, but in the labor movement generally. It would put the present strike on the road to victory and would lay the basis for real unionism amongst the miners. But more than that, it would give a shattering blow to the corrupt bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. in all its ramifications. On the other hand, a defeat of this movement would plunge the trade unions deeper into the mire of reaction. The strike against the coal operators and the struggle in the union against the Lewis machine, mark a turning point in the history of the American labor movement.

Detroit Automobile Conference

By ARTHUR E. ROHAN

(General Executive Secretary of the United Automobile Aircraft and Vehicle Workers Union)

To be successful in organizing the automobile workers, it is necessary to reach the workers with the message of organization. For that reason the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers Union called a conference of trade unions and fraternal societies.

The conference was held Sunday, February 26th, in the Electrical Workers Hall. Seventy-one delegates were present and represented five trade unions and thirty fraternal and beneficial societies, who represented over 4500 workers. As the great mass of workers of Detroit are for the most part automobile workers or at least workers who are directly in touch with automobile workers it will be realized how importantly a conference of the above organizations bears upon the effort to successfully carry on an organization campaign.

The conference was opened by Philip Raymond, Secretary of Local 127, U. A. A. C. V. W. who gave a short history of the organization and its efforts to build up a union. Attention of the delegates were called to the past efforts of the union to organize the workers, how in this struggle they stood alone, as the A. F. of L. took no notice officially of the automobile workers. While it was true that in the past two years the A. F. of L. had made the gesture of an effort to organize the highly exploited automobile workers no actual effort had been made.

It seemed to be the feeling of those present that it was up to the Auto Workers Union and those workers interested.

Conditions in the auto industry, and the problems of organization were then taken up by Arthur E. Rohan, Gen. Exec. Sec'y of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers Union.

The changed conditions of the workers of today and those of the workers of even ten years ago were very marked. At one time a good deal of skill was required. Men were drawn from other trades and at higher wages than they received in the industry from which they came. That of course was a handicap to organization.

This class of workers began to realize conditions were changing, wage cuts, reductions in

piece-work prices, subdivisions of work, and less skill were required. It was then, a little over ten years ago, that the effort to organize the auto workers found a response to the call for organization. Thousands of the Fisher Body Company's workers joined the union, only to find that the slump in industry during 1921 almost carried away the organization.

With it went most of the so-called "old-timers," and a new movement was replacing the skilled or semi-skilled workers. This group of new recruits accepted the speed-up and wage cuts as something to be expected in their new surroundings. They were from small town and the rural districts, with little or no feeling of solidarity or the need of protecting themselves.

The effort of the union was to unite the workers of the automobile industry, and as the conditions of thousands of workers had a very material effect on the conditions of other workers it was a problem for all workers. It was not a case of fighting any other group of workers or organizations of workers. As there was no other organization on the field, and as there had been no other organization on the field it was necessary to support the present one.

Delegates Pledge Aid

Delegate Vera Bush of the Federation of Working Class Women's Organizations, stated that many women were being employed in the automobile industry, and that she welcomed the fact that steps were being taken to organize the automobile workers. She pledged the full support of the organization which she represented.

Other delegates present stated that they would do all in their power to induce their membership working in the auto industry to join the union, and pledged co-operation in the efforts to be made to organize the auto workers.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:

"Whereas, the basic industry of Detroit and vicinity is the automobile industry; and,

"Whereas, the workers in this industry are unorganized and at the complete mercy of the employers; and,

"Whereas, the automobile workers are suffering from continued wage cuts, excessive speeding-up, long and irregular hours and poor conditions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this conference that no organization of workers can be indifferent to conditions of the automobile workers; that the most serious task confronting all workers of this vicinity is to help in the building up of a union of automobile workers, capable of protecting the interests of all workers depending on the auto industry for a livelihood. Be it further

"Resolved, that we call upon all workers' organizations in Detroit and vicinity to join us in the vital task of aiding and encouraging the organization efforts of the automobile workers."

Other resolutions passed called for the support of the Auto Workers News, the organization of women workers in the auto industry, special attention to be given to the young

workers in the industry, endorsing the Labor Sports Union of America and pledging the fullest support to striking mine workers.

The auto workers will eventually organize, and when they do, one can easily realize the power they will have in Michigan and in Detroit particularly. The employers will leave no stone unturned to prevent the organization of the workers whom they exploit to the tune of millions and millions of dollars every year.

The tactics used by the employers may keep the lid on for a time but all the time the force underneath is growing stronger and stronger. Wage cuts, speed-up, fake bonus systems, slave driving, and uncertainty of employment on the one hand, and huge profits on the other will bring about a crisis in Detroit.

A Conference to Organize Textile Workers

BY PHIL ARONBERG

A CONFERENCE of progressive textile workers, called by the Progressive Textile Committee, met in Boston, March 11. It was organized on short notice, because of the gravity of the situation and the drive against the workers' standards of living throughout New England. However, in spite of this, and in spite of the nearly impassable roads, (textile workers have no money for railroad fare) representatives were present from Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Delegates came from the Amalgamated Textile Councils, local unions of the United Textile Workers, and mill committees.

The reports to the conference gave a picture of exploitation reduction in wages, increase in number of hours worked, doubled and trebled production per man, and unemployment, employment of children, such as has not been until now known, even in this unorganized industry.

Unemployment

In particular, a delegate from Lawrence stated that during full force operation, 20,000 were employed. Now, only a small fraction of these are at work. The United Textile Workers has a local of 20 there. The American Federation of Textile Operatives has 100 to 150. In the past Lawrence had 30,000 to 35,000 workers, but steady curtailment of industry has driven thousands to other centers. The average wage is about \$17 per week.

Cotton weavers in the Pacific Mills are experimenting with 105 looms, and the average is 70 to 80 looms. There are rumors of a ten percent cut in wages. The officials are expected to compromise.

Another delegate reported that the company union is not effective in the Pacific Mills, at Lawrence, as it has been pretty well discredited there. The local president of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, Oliver Christian, is an official of the company union. He has suggested a compromise of a five per cent cut in wages.

In Fall River, in the American Printing Company, (6000 workers) said a delegate, there are about 200

members of the U. T. W. Wages are from \$13 to \$16 per week. Back tenders make about \$22, but work 72 hours a week. In 111 mills, only 60 are operating.

Official Betrayal

There are 15,000 unemployed in Fall River, Tansay, president of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, came out for curtailment of production, and paradoxically enough, one of the bosses came out for the forty hour week.

"In Providence", said a delegate, "everybody is down to hamburger". The average wage is \$16 for two looms, \$28 for three broad looms, and \$30 for four broad looms. "The sky is the limit for looms".

In Manchester looms are being increased, it was reported. "We used to run six looms", said the representative, "and now we run eighteen at 54 hours a week. Sentiment for organization is good."

Pawtucket reported no official wage cuts, but nevertheless, wages had fallen almost one half, with 12 hours for the day shift and 13 hours for the night shift (overlapping). Workers are much opposed to the treacherous policy of the U. T. W. leadership, and will not join it at present. But they are ready to fight.

In Lowell, a cotton and silk city, there is a ten per cent wage cut. The U. T. W. is very weak, and no other union is in the field. The workers feel discouraged, but if given a lead will fight.

In New Bedford, Forge Village, Salem, Graniteville, the reports were generally similar to the above—everywhere unemployment, wage cuts, increased production per man, and no leadership by the existing organizations.

The conference was confronted with the problem of overcoming the present unorganized state of the workers (1,000,000 in the industry and only 40,000 claimed by all the unions) and to overcome the treachery of a right wing leadership in those organizations already formed.

(Continued on page 29)

EDITORIAL

At the present writing there seems to be little possibility of a traction strike in New York, in spite of the utmost ruthlessness of the company officials, in spite of the horrible conditions in which the subway workers toil, and in spite of the known and expressed desire of the men to fight for their right to organize in their own union instead of the company union and to improve their wages and conditions.

The fault lies entirely with the officials of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, who have at every stage of developments acted as though consciously betraying the workers whom they are supposed to be leading towards improved condition. Leaders have apparently deliberately set out to convince owners, public and workers that the Amalgamated would be as bad a union for the subway workers as the company union could.

Wm. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated, and Wm. B. Fitzgerald, vice-president, aided by such local leaders as Coleman and Shea have now frittered away a month in negotiations with the Tammany Hall politicians of New York, have allowed the Interborough Rapid Transit Co., ample time to accumulate a great army of scabs and guards and to pick out and discharge over a hundred of the more active unionists, violating with impunity the decision of the courts and the tacit bargains between Mayor Walker, the union and the owners, that the Amalgamated had a right to organize.

During the whole period of negotiations the Mayor of the city has called meeting after meeting, seeking popularity with the electorate by his "efforts to avoid a strike". Now that the strike seems to be off, he washes his hands of the affair.

During the same period the officials of the union have displayed an attitude of the greatest timidity and subservience, reassuring the public over and over again that they do not want any strike, but only the chance to substitute the Amalgamated for the Brotherhood.

And during the same period the traction company officials have acted in the most defiant and high handed manner, discharging right and left, boasting of the number of armed guards they have hired, threatening to have their company union strike if any Amalgamated members are allowed to work on their lines, denouncing labor on the one hand and demanding a raise in fares from five cents to seven, on the other.

Meetings in which a strike would be discussed, and strike votes among the men were repeatedly postponed, and now seem to be abandoned altogether.

The left wing among the unionists appealed to their fellows to override the officials and force the issue, but the promises and trickery of the officials of the union and of the city have so far been too much believed in by the workers.

It does not seem possible that such tactics as those of Coleman and Mahon could have proceeded from ignorance or mere incompetency.

Why Does Mahon Do It Honest officials, conservative in tendency, might make some blunders.

But that they could make, honestly, all possible blunders is a little too much to credit. It is remembered that the same ruling clique, headed by Mahon betrayed in somewhat the same way the traction workers of Chicago, only a couple of months ago. In Chicago, where the men are openly organized into the Amalgamated, the farce of an arbitration was gone through, and the period of discussion dragged out until by company preparations, a strike was made difficult, and the men were divided in policy, all the first determination to fight and win wasted away. In New York, where the Amalgamated is forced to a kind of illegal existence such arbitration was not necessary, and Mayor Walker's conferences served the purpose.

In both New York and Chicago, the union officials seem not to have at any time had the good of the union membership in mind, but to have been intent on selling it to one faction or another in the game of regular capitalist machine politics. They also seem to have been selling their control of the Amalgamated to the employers publicity manager, to call attention to the company's arguments for a new and favorable franchise in Chicago, and for a seven cent fare in New York.

The whole situation is humiliating and disgusting to the rank and file of the union, who have gained nothing from it. It has been political capital for Thompson, mayor of Chicago, and for Walker, mayor of New York. It has resulted in a victory for the traction companies of Chicago, and an approach towards the seven cent fare in New York, to say nothing of an increase in the chances for both groups to unload at a handsome profit on the cities. The judgement of the stock market on the New York situation was a considerable rise in the value of I. R. T. and B. M. T. stocks two and three-eighths points raise March 17 for the Interborough, for example.

The time has come for the left wing in the union in both cities to save their union from this impossible situation. Nothing can be gained for the workers through Mahon, Coleman & Co.

In our leading article this month, the mining situation is well covered. We call attention here to

Murder By The Right Wing one phase of the fight, that in Pittston, where as an aftermath of illegal murder by the gunmen of the Cappellini machine, Cappellini's friends in judicial robes will try to mop up for him by having three real unionists legally murdered. The left wing slate elected at Pittston has been nearly wiped out by secret assassination, and arrests on a frame-up murder charge. Alex Campbell and Peter Reilly were shot down with machine guns and killed Feb. 28, while on their way to Campbell's house in a car. Sam Grecio, another militant, was shot

down on Feb. 18, while walking with his wife. Before this, Frank Lillis was similarly murdered by gunmen. Three left wing officials, Bonita, Mendola and Moleski were attacked by gunmen in the union headquarters itself, and in the fight, in self defense, one of them shot Frank Agati, a Cappellini gunman. So they are tried for murder. No arrests were made for the killing of the left wingers, but the law steps in when a right winger dies. And that is the situation.

The progressives in District 1 of the miners' union, where these killings took place have just issued a call to all miners to send delegates to the Save-the-Union conference that meets at Pittsburgh, April 1, and which leads a movement to put an end to Cappellini's murder program by chasing out Cappellini and his big boss, Lewis. The Save-the-Union Committee will also defend Bonita, Mendola and Moleski.

We observe that in the Papermakers' Journal for March there is a belated recognition that something is wrong with labor banking. The papermakers' editor comments:

Finding Out "The (labor) banks, once organized and going as an auxiliary to labor, now appear to look down upon labor with a sardonic grin. They want the deposits of labor but do not appear to render any more assistance to the labor movement than do the so-called capitalistic banks.

"The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers has deposited a part of its resources in a labor bank, it owns stock in a labor insurance company and views with astonishment any move on the part of the auxiliaries of labor that would indicate support of the unfair employer."

As an example of the need for international solidarity of labor see this case of international solidarity of reactionary union officials; as proof of the need of fighting the American union bureaucracy, see how it is spreading its influence in Europe. The news letter of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) commenting on the recent statement of executive council of the A. F. L. which reiterated the "non partisan" political policy of Green and before him Gompers, quotes in quite full fashion, with only jesting and friendly objections, Green's declaration that the non-partisan policy is a product of "free America" where "individualism is more highly developed", and "government is but an aid to individualism."

"It is very well known", says Amsterdam, "that the American comrades (sic!) disapprove of the organization of workers into political parties." And Amsterdam's only answer is that there is just as much graft in America as in Europe!

The fear which coal companies have for the growth of a labor party in America, a party which might tear from their control some judicial and other governmental positions which they rely on now for injunctions and frame-up of pickets and militant unionists, is indicated by their having their Pennsylvania police arrest Rebecca Grecht,

campaigning for a labor party. She was addressing a meeting of miners in Burgettstown, Pa., when arrested, and has been held on a charge of sedition, for the May grand jury. Where the boss admits he is the government, he calls it sedition to organize a party against him. Where, as in New York, the government poses as "the friend of labor", it is just as dangerous. The workers need their own party, and nothing can stop their finding it out eventually.

The Trade Union Educational League has since its inception, carried as one of its slogans: "For a Labor Party". It was a realization of the uselessness of the so-called "non partisan" policy of the A. F. L. that dictated this slogan.

The A. F. L. executives and the leadership in the big unions dread the moral effect of having the workers united in a class party for that means they will go on to recognize class interests also in other fields, and it means that the profitable game of selling the labor vote for favors given the officials will end. But the workers gain nothing from the "non-partisan" policy, "friends of labor" jail and oppress them; Labor must have its own class political party.

Little is being said by the American Bar Association and Wall Street about the Anti-strike legislation discussed at their hearing in February in New York, but it is known that the details are being worked out. Meanwhile Lewis of the Miners' Union assures the employers he is with them in a scheme to apply the principles of Woll's anti-strike bill to the coal industry.

This issue of Labor Unity goes to press too soon for more than the meagrest reports of the Fourth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions to reach it. However, we know that sessions opened in the former Hall of the Nobles in Moscow, and that two members of the American delegation, Jack Johnstone, National organizer of the T. U. E. L. and Benjamin Gitlow, were elected to the presidium.

A full account is promised for our next issue and immediately on their return the American delegation will report on the world policies decided upon in this great conference, to mass meetings of the workers in the principal cities of U. S.

IN MEMORY OF SID BUSH

The Trade Union Educational League announces with the deepest regret the death in Los Angeles of Sidney Bush, a member of the League who conducted a splendid and heroic struggle for organized labor for years, in spite of great suffering from the fatal disease which finally claimed him. March 7, at the age of 29. Brother Bush participated in his left wing activities up to within three weeks of his death. He was arrested at the last American Federation of Labor convention by orders of the Green-Woll bureaucracy who feared his presence among the delegates.

A Brief Review of Events

Incidents Treated Elsewhere In This Issue Are Not Mentioned Here

Southern Textile Strike

Reduced wages brought a second group of Southern mill workers out on strike. Although the management of the Lorey plant of Manville Jenckes Co., at Gastonia is trying to minimize the walkout, it is known that the weavers came out and refused to go back until old wages were restored. Workers at the mills of the Coopers in Henderson, near Durham, struck last fall against an older wage cut.

Manville-Jenckes have mills at Georgiaville, Manville, Pawtucket, Providence and Woonsocket, Rhode Island, in addition to their Southern mills. Workers at their northern mills have struck at various times against wage cuts or speeding up devices. State militia were called out when the Social mill workers struck last. This mill is now closed. A number of the company's Rhode Island workers are members of the United Textile Workers Union.

Tire fabric is the chief product of Manville-Jenckes mills except the one at High Shoals, North Carolina, which makes cotton yarns mainly. The company sells to various manufacturers of automobile tires. Its struck mill employs 1700.

A. C. W. Contract Ends

The 3-year agreement of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with the Chicago employers expires May 1. Negotiations are under way for a new contract, probably of 3 years also. The present agreement has a clause permitting the wage question to be opened by either side once in each year.

Development of large-scale cutting machinery and other labor-displacing innovations have ousted a proportion of skilled workers.

The Amalgamated temple opposite Carmen's hall on Ashland Blvd. is nearing completion after many delays due to engineering difficulties.

This Is Labor Capitalism!

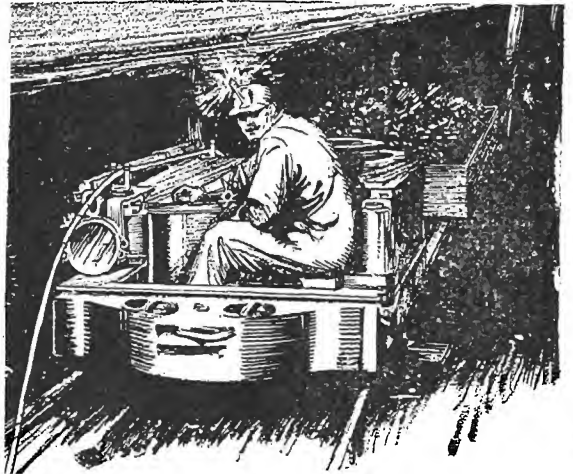
The Dispatchers Investment Co., of Chicago, allied with the American Train Dispatchers Assn., a railroad labor union, has cut down its capital 90% from \$2,500,000 to \$250,000 and reduced its shares of common stock from 40,000 to 4,000; though its conservative management declares that "the profits in the operations of the company at the end of another year would be quite satisfactory", the facts indicate ruin.

Coal Bosses Unite

Negotiations for a big merger to include most of the mines in eastern Kentucky are paralleling the development of a similar coal giant in West Virginia. Both mergers are in non-union fields and will be operated openshop.

The Kentucky merger includes, in addition to the Columbus Mining Co., the German Coal Co., the Rockhouse Coal Co., the Hatfield Campbell Creek Coal Co., the Marian Coal Co., and the Carrs Fork Coal Co. At the start it will probably be capitalized at about \$20,000,000.

Important companies in the W. Va. merger are the Consolidation Coal Co., dominated by Rockefeller interests, the Pocahontas Fuel Co., the New River Co.,



Southern Mines are producing but the men may soon follow the example of their bosses and organize. They are called to join the strike of the organized.

the Pond Creek Pocahontas Company, the Berwind-White Coal Mining Company, the Gulf Smokeless Coal Company and the Bertha Consumers Co. Experts are appraising the companies to determine the share of each in the consolidation—Federated Press.

Productivity Way Ahead of Wages

Factory workers get, in real wages, about 30% more than they did in 1899 but they produce 54% more, asserted Paul H. Douglas, professor of the university of Chicago, at the American Statistical Assn. meeting.

Weakness of trade unions was one of the difficulties in the way of basing wages on productivity, declared George Soule, an editor of the New Republic and associated with the Labor Bureau Inc. Inability to control other than manufacturing prices and to foretell increase in productivity are other obstacles.

Hosiery Injunction

Mass picketing by union hosiery workers of the Allen A Co. plant, Kenosha, Wisc., was so effective that the employer ran to the federal district court in Milwaukee for an injunction. Judge Geiger gladly obliged with an order forbidding not merely violence, which had not taken place, but every sort of picketing or congregating near the factory. The 330 strikers demand union recognition and abolition of the speed-up that led to the dispute. Wage questions are not involved. — J. P.

Broach Drives Out Militants

With nearly 40 percent of the Electrical Workers in New York either unemployed or facing unemployment in the near future, the question of caring for them by winning the five day week with five and a half day's pay, and by division of labor, is being forced in the union by a progressive group. The answer of H. H. Broach, International Vice-President, to this movement is a policy of expulsion. A regular union meeting March 8 was the scene of gag rule, threats

of physical violence against progressive speakers, and an illegal adjournment before the unemployment and other burning issues could be discussed.

Butterfly Mayor Waves Workers Out

Mayor "Jimmie" Walker of New York arched his brows in surprise when 1,000 city employes crowded into his Board of Estimate and Apportionment meeting, March 8, and wanted to know why a distribution of salary increase granted several weeks ago had been held up by Budget Director Chas Kohler.

All the satisfaction they received was a denunciation by Mayor Walker, which ended with the words: "If there are any city employes present, I request them to immediately go back to their departments".

Cloak Spy's Frame-Up Fails

Joseph Goretzky and Elias Marks, left wing leaders of the cloakmakers' union in New York, had the criminal assault charge against them dismissed, after their accuser, Hyman Goldman had broken down under cross examination and revealed that his accusation was the result of a plan of the employers, for whom he was a spy, and the right wing in the union, to which he was attached. Evidence showed that at the time of the alleged assault, during the 1926 cloakmakers' strike, Goldman at first accused other men entirely. Nevertheless, Judge Rosalsky at that time stated openly that the two left wingers were guilty, and held them on \$25,000 bonds each.

Sigman's Tax Fails

The orders given garment workers by Sigman, right wing leader, that they were to work eight hours on each of two Saturdays, March 3 and 10, in New York to pay a day's wages to the right wing headquarters were openly and generally violated by the workers registered with the right wing. Most of them had registered unwillingly, anyhow.

International Labor Defense Helped

Thousands of New York workers attended and contributed to the success of the International Labor Defense Bazaar, March 7 to 11. The massing of the workers behind this defense body is an indication of the affection and regard in which it is held by those who have seen time after time the I. L. D. step in between some fellow worker and the frame-up system of the employers. The I. L. D. now has its hands full fighting for miners arrested and persecuted by a combination of Lewis and state troopers.

Still Try To Deport Tsiang

Because H. T. Tsiang, a student in Stanford University, Cal., and editor of "The Chinese Guide in America", wrote against the American and European imperialists in his country the U. S. government is still trying to deport him to certain death at the hands of militarists in China. Tsiang was arrested last summer, and charged with radicalism and loss of student status. He was ordered released by Judge Kerrigan, into whose court he was brought by a writ of habeus corpus. The government has appealed, and his danger is still great. He is defended by a joint defense committee, composed of International Labor Defense, Civil Liberties, and the Chinese Student Club of Stanford University, with headquarters at Workers Bookshop, 2123 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Cal.

International Women's Day

In great mass meetings throughout the larger American cities, International Women's Day was celebrated, March 4. This is a special working women's

holiday, and marks a point every year, in which militant labor considers particularly the problems of one of the most exploited sections of the working class. The celebrations this year indicated a growing interest and greater attendance on the part of workers both men and women than at any time before.

Seattle Union Record Dies

The Seattle Union Record, once a fine courageous and powerful labor daily, supporting the Seattle General strike, defending the Centralia victims, and all progressive measures, has died. However for the last four years the paper has been betraying its noble past, and aiding the most reactionary measures in the unions. It was published since 1924 under the private ownership of the American Free Press Association, and edited by E. P. Ault, a former Socialist who has fought the left wing until the workers lost interest in the sheet and let it perish.

Pullman Porters To Strike

The Interstate Commerce Commission has thrown out on a technicality the plea of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for wages instead of tips. The decision of the I. C. C. is virtually an insulting ruling that the Pullman porter must crawl to his patrons and beg for tips, which are "good enough for him."

The union thinks otherwise, and plans are going forward for a strike in the near future. Union supervisors are being sent into each of seven regional zones, and the supervisors will be in constant touch with the executive committees and with local members who have been most active in the successful organization of the union. A strike will come soon, unless the companies back down, and it will be complete and will practically stop Pullman service.

New York Cleaners "Strike"

Another bitter jest has been played upon organized labor in New York through the so-called strike of the cleaners and dyers. This was simply an agreement of union officials to call out the men, who have plenty of real grievances, not to gain any redress for those grievances, but merely to force into line some cleaning shops which have been charging under the scale which the organized shop owners have been charging. Organizing into a "union" these cockroach independent owners is one of the great feats of the union officials.

A Textile Conference

(Continued from page 25)

The delegates present agreed unanimously to the plan of organizing the textile workers with the mill as the unit of organization even where a union is in existence. The conference instructed its incoming executive committee to immediately prepare plans for a national organizing campaign. An executive of 15 was elected, to represent the different textile centers. Right after the conference the executive committee went into session, and made preparations for carrying out the decisions of the conference. The headquarters of the Executive Committee of the Textile Mill Committees were established at 20 Olneyville Square, Providence, R. I. Wm. Murdoch, Secretary in charge.

The labor movement will certainly hear from the textile workers in the near future, as the whole industry is ripe for organization. Any workers wishing to support the committee are invited to communicate with the secretary, at the above address.

International Labor Notes

Items marked "R.I.L.U." after the signatures, are summaries of extensive studies made by the men whose names are signed, for the Red International Labor Unions. These studies Labor Unity has, unfortunately, not enough space to print in full.

Nationalism in Amsterdam

The meetings in January of the executive Bureau and the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions reached no decisions on the matter which is tearing the Amsterdam international to pieces, the national quarrel between the British and French right wing reformists. All matters of any moment to the workers of the world were left to the last day of four days of meetings, and rushed through perfunctorily. The war danger was not even considered. And no solution of the internal difficulties was arrived at other than to continue until the Amsterdam meeting of the general council six months later the present headquarters of the secretariat at Amsterdam, with the German Sassenbach acting as general secretary. The Paris congress had voted to transfer the secretariat from Amsterdam to "some other city," the Germans said "Berlin", and the English stood for Brussels. The Paris congress was marked by the withdrawal of the British delegation, which insisted on Purcell as chairman of the international, and by the refusal of Hicks to serve as chairman. The Germans would not have Purcell. The fight between the two groups seems to be growing more bitter, with the Germans gradually advancing, but afraid to antagonize the English too much. —G. Slanin, R. I. L. U.

Seven Hour Day In Russia

Introduction of the seven hour day and change from the two shift system to one of three shifts in 14 textile mills, most of them Moscow and Ivanovo-Vosnesensk provinces has added between 17,000 and 18,000 workers to the pay roll of these mills. This is one instance of the way in which the problem of workers who desire to change from farm to city life is being solved.

Boring Into The French R. R. Council

During January the French Railway Federation belonging to the United General Confederation of Labor (the left wing center) abandoned the syndicalist policy of boycotting elections to the Supreme Railway Council, a government organ made up of 14 representatives of labor, 18 from the railway management, and 30 from employers organizations.

The boycott of these elections in the past permitted delegates of the small right wing union which split off from the Unitary Railway Federation in 1920 to take all the seats, and offer the public a false appearance of class collaboration between the railways and their employees.

The elections have everywhere resulted in overwhelming victory for the left wing workers, and every move to worsen conditions from now on will be loudly protested by the labor delegates on the Council. At the same time, the organs of the left wing unions point out that nothing can be done by these delegates except as they represent and speak for the decisive will

of the masses of the railway workers. They are spokesmen and not legislators.—S. Sorbousky, R. I. L. U.

French Vineyard Workers Strike

The strike of the vineyard workers at Rivesaltes in the southeast of France has brought out sharply the class character of the "democratic" French government. The whole district is practically in a state of siege at the instance of the central government, despite the fact that the municipal government supports the strikers. "All meetings, gatherings, parades, assemblages, of an agitational character" have been prohibited throughout the district. The use of drums and bugle-calls to wake the strikers in the morning for picket duty—an old and honored tradition in the south of France—has been prohibited. But the struggle of the Rivesaltes workers to force a minimum wage out of the rich proprietors has awakened the sympathy of the agricultural workers throughout the south of France. Already over 25,000 francs has been sent in to the Strike Committee, and there is every indication that the strike will spread.

"Humanite"

Conflicts Loom In Germany

Seventy-two wage agreements involving 2,225,080 workers expire in Germany at the end of March; 43 agreements involving 800,127 workers expire at the end of April. These are in the basic industries, and left wing elements, which have been rapidly increasing in number and power demand that new contracts made shall be for short periods, and shall bring increased wages. The right wing leaders, still holding the higher offices in most of these unions, have already committed themselves to a policy of long term agreements, with little or no increase in wages or betterment of conditions. The next few months will therefore certainly witness wide strike movements in some industries, and fights within the unions on a broad front between the masses of the rank and file and the reactionary leadership.

Unity At Oslo

The conference of delegates from the Norwegian, Finnish and Russian Trade Unions held in Oslo has announced its decision to take up the work of bringing about World Trade Union Unity, to commence the struggle against the growing war danger, and to bring about closer co-operation between the Norwegian, Finnish and Russian Peasants' Organizations.

"Rote Fahne"

Czecho Slovak Miners Firm

Despite the facts that the yellow reformists are agitating for a compromise and are weakening the defence of the workers by starting a campaign against "reds" and Communists, the fighting spirit of the 30,000 Bohemian coal-miners, out on strike since February 13, continues perfect. In the whole mine

district there is not a single strikebreaker. The strikers are demanding a sharpening of the struggle, and in many places have refused to permit maintenance men to work in the mines.

"Rote Fahne"

Appeal Of Pan Pacific Secretariat

The Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, meeting in Shanghai February 3-6, studied the situation of the Chinese unions and found that a ferocious white terror had driven them underground, imprisoning 32,316 persons, killing 25,000 in open struggles caused by closing the headquarters or occupying them with troops, and slaughtering 13,000 in cold blood some by such barbaric methods as burning, boiling alive, burying or grinding alive, and gradual dismemberment.

Those guilty of this shameful slaughter are, the secretariat declares, foreign imperialism, and the Chinese militarists, particularly the new militarists, Chiang Kai-shek and his sort, who control the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek has stated in public that the "first task of organization is to exterminate the trade union leaders."

In this situation, the P. P. T. U. S. calls on workers everywhere to join together in a great effort to assist the Chinese workers, to denounce the Kuomintang murders, fight imperialist aggression in China, demand the withdrawal of foreign armed forces, urge soldiers and sailors not to shoot the Chinese workers and peasants, collect money for Chinese trade unions, and send labor delegations to observe the true conditions.

With The T. U. E. L. Groups

Philadelphia

An outstanding event in local T. U. E. L. activities in Philadelphia was the "Save the Union" meeting for the miners, held at Labor Institute March 9. The main speakers were Herbert Benjamin, just back from the mining fields, and Ben Thomas, chairman of the Philadelphia Trade Union Committee for a Labor Party. The following resolution was adopted by the audience:

"This meeting of Philadelphia workers declares its vehement protest against the brutal murders of honest rank and file workers at Pittston, Pa., by the hired gunmen apparently in the pay of the operators and the corrupt officials of District 1, U. M. W. of A.

"We declare that these murders are a blot upon the labor movement as well as a crime of unparalleled horror. As members of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and workers who are in full sympathy with every forward move of our class, we demand the immediate expulsion from the ranks of organized labor of Cappellini, and all other individuals who are part of the infamous Lewis-Cappellini murder machine.

"We pledge our every support to the movement to save the miners' union which has been initiated by the militant rank and file. We declare our determination also to defend Sam Bonita and his brothers in prison for the death of Cappellini's gunman bodyguard who attempted to murder them."

Buffalo

The T. U. E. L. General Group met and decided on a complete program for organization work. A new industrial group is about to be formed making three in operation here. All of the groups are taking an active interest in the unemployment and labor party problems.

Boston

A Labor Unity banquet held here March 4 was quite successful, and laid the basis for a campaign for the magazine. This whole New England district is getting some organized left wing sentiment through the two conferences held here, that of shoe workers on March 4, and of textile workers in the middle of March. Local T. U. E. L. members are active in the propagating of this left wing sentiment.

Chicago

The Trade Union Educational League in Chicago is actively supporting the long-drawn out capmakers' strike, and is still busy with plans for further organization of its own forces. The T. U. E. L. Needle Trades Section, in the March issue of its journal, The Chicago Needle Worker, carries four big printed pages of news about the bitter struggle there between the right wing gang and the union membership. The paper features the fact that the Chicago journeymen tailors have rejected an appeal for contributions for the right wing machine in the International Ladies Garment Workers, even though Frank Dahman, spokesman for the Tailors' executive board, asked them for it.

The Chicago Needle Worker contains articles on Amalgamation and on the miners' strike, as well as all the news of the needle trades shops. It is giving a Spring Balloon Dance, April 21, at Workers Lyceum, 273 Hirsch Boulevard. The paper is published at 23 South Lincoln St., 50 cents a year.

The Chicago Defense Committee for the Cloak and Dress Makers has a bazaar and dance March 30-31 and April 1st at Division Hall, 2441 West Division St., Chicago.

New York

On February 28, a general meeting of all T. U. E. L. members was held in Irving Plaza Hall. John Balam, the local secretary outlined the situation within the needle trades unions, the traction workers, and the cleaners, who were just going on their "ten day stoppage" in the interests of the bosses. A report was delivered by John Sherman on the traction situation, which had then reached a stage where Sherman was able to prophesy accurately just what has happened since, that the Amalgamated officials were going to play Tammany politics, and let the chance for a strike to win gains for the traction workers, be lost entirely. Supplementary reports on the plumbers and the needle trades were given.

The New York headquarters at 101 East 14 St., is teeming with activity every evening. Committee meetings are going on all the time.

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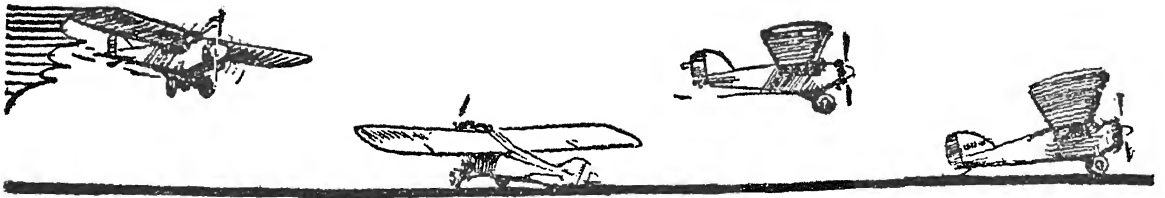
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